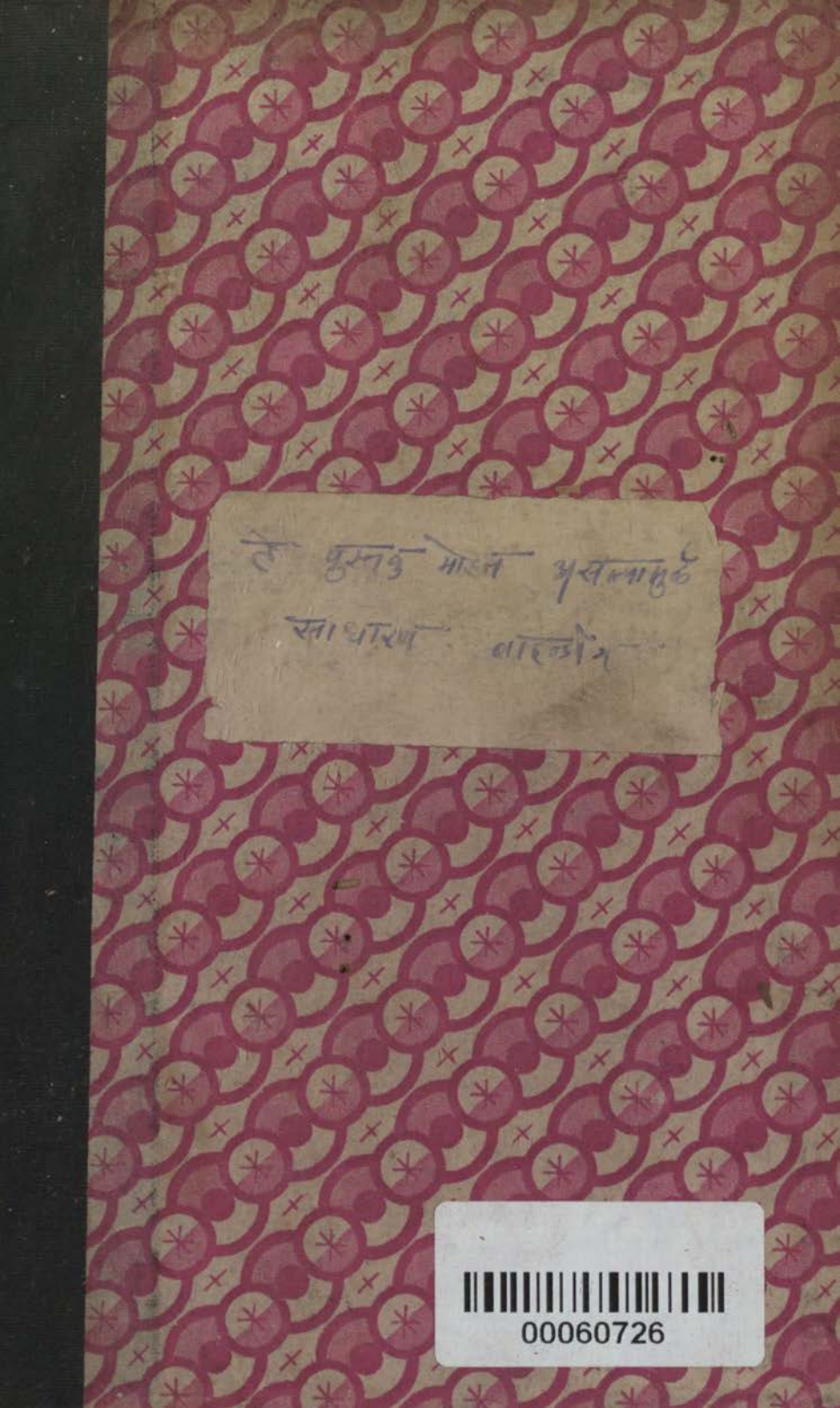
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THE COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHY

OF

PALESTINE AND THE SINAITIC PENINSULA.

THE COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHY

OF

PALESTINE

AND THE

SINAITIC PENINSULA.

BY CARL RITTER.

60726
ac.

Translated and Adapted to the Use of Biblical Students

BY

WILLIAM L. GAGE.

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GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE.

GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE.

CHAPTER I.

A GENERAL COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF SYRIA.

FROM the Sinai Peninsula, which we may regard as the vestibule of Palestine, we advance into the Promised Land by three routes: the first along the shore from Gaza to Askelon; the second on the track of the pilgrims, over the very back of the Tih plateau, in a path more or less trodden in the most ancient as well as in comparatively modern and in most recent times—gradually exchanging the savage waste for the deepening green of the outlying southern eminences of the Jebel Chalil or Hebron, once inhabited by a thronging population, and covered with cities; and the third by the route which has been re-opened within our days—the most easterly one of all—that of Wadi Musa, through the depression of the Araba and el-Ghor to the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, where the great gorge which runs through the whole length of Palestine finds its key, and solves the entire physical character of the country.

Pursuing the habitual manner in which I have dealt with other countries, I shall not undertake to limit myself to such an exhaustive account of Palestine as would meet the wants of a biblical student:[1] this has been well and thoroughly done by H. Reland and by K. von Raumer. We have to do with a district which does not reveal itself to us in its highest interests

[1] As this preliminary survey is literally rendered into English from the German, Ritter's expression must be applied rather to his own work than to this condensed translation, which has been prepared with express reference to the wants of biblical students.—ED.

when studied in its own special sections and subdivisions, but in its relation to all the countries which surround it, and in fact to the entire world; and with a district, too, where all the phenomena of national and individual life are so inextricably mingled with those of the physical conditions of the country, that the result is a blending of characteristics so varied and comprehensive that there is not a land or a nation which does not find something of itself reflected there.[1]

As it is nowhere mere rough power or external greatness which gains sway in the higher departments of affairs, but the inward force, the soul of fire, the strong heart, so is it with the might and the authority of territorial domains. Palestine belongs, so far as mere size is concerned, to the smallest and most insignificant countries on the earth; but its name is one of those most often spoken and most universally loved. Wherever Christian men are found, there it is a hallowed name, to which sacred thoughts, feelings, associations, and convictions cling, and which is bound up with all that is most valued by the judgment or dear to the heart. And wherever heathen nations are found upon the earth, there this Holy Land is yet to be loved, until all eyes shall rest upon it as the birth-place of the true faith, and the scene of the grandest revelations ever made by God to man.

And even the very banished children of Palestine, who never advanced beyond the knowledge of God's *law*, and never accepted the fulfilling of that law in the words and works of the Saviour of mankind, are still bound to the country which their fathers loved, and conquered, and possessed. Their circle of ideas does not yet free itself from the land from which they have been driven out. The patriarchal ties—the belief in Jehovah the one God of their ancestors—the temple built on Moriah—the splendid procession of judges, prophets, lawgivers, psalmists, and kings—the very conquest which subdued their nation, and the banishment which made them exiles, have conspired to perpetuate the bond which binds the Jewish people to their former home. Thither hundreds of Hebrews even now wander back, after troubled and shipwrecked lives, to find in the land of their fathers a peaceful resting-place, at least for

[1] See this point finely developed in the opening pages of Stanley's and Tristam's works on Palestine.—ED.

their bones. They come from the East as well as from the West, longing for peace, and lay themselves down in a land which is theirs only as they may purchase some little fragment of it, making it their most cherished wish to die and be buried under the sacred shadow of Mount Moriah.

Even their conquerors and oppressors, the hard and wilful Arabs and Turks, who now possess the land, share in the same fancy, which, though it be a folly, yet is a human and a touching one. The Mohammedan places Palestine only second in sacredness to the birth-place of the prophet; and Jerusalem they designate as "el-Kods," or more exactly, "el-Guds," the Holy City. The pilgrimage to the Haram, *i.e.* to the mosque which the Caliph Omar erected on the site of the temple of Solomon, is the most meritorious one which he can make, excepting that to Mecca.

Within the narrow limits of Palestine we must look for the foundations of that kingdom of truth as well as of error, which has now become a subject of historic inquiry: we must trace the latest results to their primitive causes in the geographical conditions of the country: for even here there is opportunity for such agents as the soil under man's foot, and the atmosphere over his head, to have influence. If every garden plot owes a part of the rapid progress in flowering and in fruitage to the skilful and the careful hand of the gardener, cannot every land in God's wide creation trace, under His wise direction, some measure of mutual action and reaction between the country and the people who inhabit it? Our historians have many things yet to learn, and even yet they continue to fall into one-sided speculations, which betray them and lead them astray. But here is one elemental truth: history does not lie in a domain adjoining nature, so to speak, but actually within the bosom of nature: history and nature are at one, as God looks down upon them from His canopy of stars. In studying the human soul, the mode of its training, the way of its working—and that is history—we cannot leave out of our view the outward field in which it finds its home, the world where it meets the phenomena which it investigates. In spite of the self-confidence of that pretence which science sometimes makes in the person of some of her votaries, of finding all that she needs within the soul of man, and in a mere world of subjective realities, we may boldly

assert, that a close study of the outward world, as the soul's training place, is the only true key to history.

And such a close connection between the local geography of the place and the mental characteristics of the people, is especially to be traced where there was the peculiar simplicity and closeness to nature of the patriarchal inhabitants of Palestine: a simplicity and an intimate communion with the fields and the waters and the skies, traceable alike in the meadows of Mesopotamia, under the Assyrian heavens, and in the land to which the first shepherds found their way; alike on the Euphrates and on the Jordan, at the foot of Ararat and of Hermon. To the same close connection can be traced the primitive settlers' wanderings all over Canaan, their incursions into Arabian territory, and their temporary sojourn in Egypt, then as much a centre in respect to the fertility of its soil as to intellectual culture. To the same may be traced the necessity which called for the giving of the law amid the thunders of Sinai, and the wandering of Israel through the Arabian desert. Thither also is traceable the rise of twelve tribes in a land flowing with milk and honey, hard by the rocky crags of Petræa, Judæa, and Ephraim. Here, too, we find the significance of the Jordan valley, the deep course of the Kedron, and the gorge which, as it opened, swallowed up Sodom. To this we must ascribe the isolation of Jerusalem, and the towering up of Sion and Moriah, as if to call the whole world unto them. In this, too, we find the meaning of the harbours, the seas, the cedars of Lebanon, the dew upon Hermon, the fruitful vale of Sharon, the flowery plain of Esdraelon, the beautiful landscape of Galilee dotted with lakes, and the barren deserts which gird the plains and the palm trees of Jericho.

Who can deny that there are individual features in the physical character of a country which are not to be merely grouped as inarticulate and dead appendages to its soil, but are to be studied in their strong reflex action on the life of the people, affecting local traditions, affecting history, affecting the life of nations and states, affecting religion and all thought? And if our earth does not swing around its sun, a mere dead, inorganic planet, but an organism, a living work from the hand of a living God, there must be a similar close and vital connection, like that between body and soul, between nature and history, between a land and

its people, between physics and ethics, if I may so speak. It would certainly be impossible to conceive of the development of such a history as that of Israel taking place anywhere else than in Palestine. Nowhere else on the earth could that series of events, and that peculiar training which the people of God had to pass through, have found a theatre so conspicuous to the eyes of all the world as that narrow land of Palestine.

To grasp such a fact as this in its more general relations, and to hold it up; to make every man understand how much is involved in the individuality of each country, in what is peculiarly its own physical features, and how deep and wide their influence is upon man,—is what gives to the science of geography its dignity and worth. And it would be well deserving of much patient research, to trace the conditions and the laws which gave character to the primitive abode of the Hebrews, and to show how Providence led them up the steps, cut as it were in the rocks of their own soil, to the "large place" for which He was fitting them; to indicate, too, the gain which the children of Israel found in their newly won Canaan; to show how in that gain all races of men ever since have shared, and how the peculiarities of the physical structure of Palestine have come to be a kind of possession, so to speak, to men living at the very ends of the earth. The need is great for an exhaustive physical geography of Palestine; and yet it must be confessed none has yet been written, despite the reports of thousands who have visited the Holy Land, and given us their oral or their printed reports. It is only within the latest years that any attempt in this direction has been made, and no thorough results have yet been attained. The work which I offer must therefore be a tentative effort, rather than such a perfect work as can some day be expected, but for which the materials are not yet ready.

Whoever is denied the privilege of looking upon the face of a country which becomes the subject of his study, and which has been the scene of great historical events, will find that those very events, viewed in a true historical light, reflect as from a perfect mirror the physical characteristics of the country where they have occurred, and from which their influence has gone forth to other parts of the world. To stand close to the subject of our studies is not always best: the special features

are brought too much into view; and the mind is in peril of being led astray, of losing the unity of the subject, and of being engulfed and lost in a whirl of details. The personal observations of tourists are not therefore always pure gold to the scientific student, because very few tourists have the acumen needful for the highest purposes of travel. The facts which observers bring back must be subjected to the crucible of learning and thought before they become truly valuable; more especially, they must be subjected to the touchstone of history, and then their worth or their lack of worth appears. Oftentimes there are secrets which are passed over in a hurried, superficial way for hundreds of years, before the man comes who can bring out their meaning, and set them in a clear, strong light.

That this has been the case with Palestine, admits of no question. Of the hundreds of thousands who have made their pilgrimage thither, of the thousands who have gone for the purpose of thorough observation and inquiry, how few there are who, with all that they have brought away for themselves, have added anything to the possessions of others, have augmented at all the sum of human knowledge about the Holy Land! A man cannot stand at the foot of a very lofty object, and distinctly see the point where it touches the clouds; and the majority of those pious persons who visit Palestine are so overcome by the touching associations of the place, that they lose their cool judgment, cast away the common standards by which they measure the objects of interest in less hallowed spots, and give us little which in a scientific point is valuable. One who stands farther away may be better able to discern the summit, than one who stands at the very foot of a mountain. On the wild crags of Switzerland, if you go too near, you are rewarded only by the view of an inextricable tangle of brush and confused rocks; but if you stand at a distance, you can make out all the details, and have before you the unity of a single combined picture.

It is not otherwise with the point of view which science is compelled to take. Yet it has not been possible at all times for geographical science to gain such a point of view: thousands of preparatory steps have sometimes to be taken before it is reached. Only by a very gradual transition could the geography

of Palestine be brought out from the thick clouds of darkness which have so long rested upon its records and its sources: it was a country unknown to those outside of it, even in the remotest periods of history: even its nearest neighbours, even the most accomplished nations of antiquity, knew little or nothing about it. Palestine was from the very outset a land set apart, as Israel was a people set apart; and for two thousand years it remained so. No great highway led through it from nation to nation; all went by it, over the roads which skirted it without traversing it, and which all found their type in the sea-line which ran from the harbours of the ancient Phœnician cities to Egypt, along a shore which was almost devoid of havens. The adoption of the theocracy of Jehovah prevented all the other nations of antiquity from forming any ties of alliance with a people so separated from them by geographical conditions, and by mercantile, political, and religious opinions: the theocratic idea formed a perfect cordon around Canaan, and effectually separated all other nations from the chosen people which inhabited it.

Palestine, considered in its connection with the whole of Syria, extends from the Isthmus of Suez and the Sinai Peninsula at the south, northward to the middle terrace land of the Euphrates, where that river breaks madly through the southern branch of the Syrian Taurus.

Syria is bounded by a great sea of sand on the east, as by a great sea of water on the west: it is separated, therefore, alike from the Orient and Occident, and set in a place of isolation. Had it been longer than it is, and narrower than it is, it must have been a mere link between the Armenian highlands of the Taurus and Egypt, and the whole course of its history must have been radically different from what it has been: there must have been a free flowing in of the comparatively rude life of the former, and with this a ready entrance of Egyptian culture, both of which would have met and coalesced in a third and new type of civilisation. The geographical situation and relations of Palestine conditioned its history from the very first, and appointed it to be a bridge arching across a double sea of desert sands, and of waters which the want of harbours made useless to it: it connected the Euphrates with the Nile, that the nation which God had selected while its representative was

an aged Chaldee chieftain might pass safely to Egypt and thence back to the place which He had appointed for its possession, thenceforth to be isolated from the world, and unimperilled by it. No other country of the ancient world lay as Palestine, the southern half of Syria, did in this regard: the northern portion, Soristan, was far less advantageously situated; lying on the great highway from Babylon and the Euphrates, it was early made a prey to the mighty armies of the East. Palestine lay in the same pathway, and yet she was spared, and for centuries no enemy came near her. Surrounded by the six great nations of antiquity, the splendour of whose culture is yet a marvel to the world—the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians, the Phœnicians, and the Egyptians—and kept apart from them all, it was able to develop its monotheistic religion, to establish its own special polity, to create an entirely antagonistic system of national economy, and to arrive at perfect independence. There was no country so situated in relation to three great continents and five great bodies of water; so that when the fulness of time had come, there was no delay in sending the gospel to the very ends of the earth. May we not see in such a wonderful display of adaptive conditions, which have exerted a decisive effect on the whole course of history, and on the destinies of millions, more than the work of a mere random chance, more than the arbitrary upheaving of the ground, the hollowing out of valleys and gorges at another place, and the letting in the waters of the ocean to form an arm of the sea at still another? When we arrive at a point of view where we command at a glance the whole course of history, and see great causes work out great effects—effects which work as broadly as they work deeply—may we not recognise the working of a Divine Mind above it all, controlling the issue as well as forming the plan; and not alone in the past—*having done* all His task and resting thereafter—but still carrying on His work and perfecting it? Is it possible that claims can be made in the name of science to a profound study of the earth, when its very organic character is overlooked, when it is supposed to be a dead inert mass, and when it is compared with any of those bodies which we call inorganic, and which we invest with no life or being, and cast out from the list of organized things? In a hundred places, which have

exerted an evident influence on the course of history, a deeper study can detect what I call the earth-organism, meaning thereby a certain subtle but real organic power, which the earth puts forth and gives to its inhabitants, not to be confounded, however, with any life of the globe which pantheism may claim. And even in those places where no living connection is yet traceable between the country and the man, where the earth seems all thrown in hap-hazard forms,—sea, and gulf, and lake, and mountain, and plain, and desert,—having no pre-arranged harmony of design and ultimate end as a home for man and as a field for history, it will be found in the end that even there God's plans were laid and His work was in execution no less fully and manifestly than in those places which we call the classic ground of history.

Palestine's peculiar position in relation to the rest of the world was very early apparent. Surrounded by populous, wealthy, and powerful nations, it and its capital remained in their centre (see Ezek. xxxviii. 12, *in umbilico terræ*, according to the LXX. quoted in Jerome), but untouched by their traffic, and made inaccessible by desert sands and by seas,—kept secure by crags, and gorges, and mountains,—a country without great natural charms, without wealth, and presenting few inducements to the rapacity of outlying nations. Thus in a truly independent way, in the undisturbed cultivation of its rough and hard but richly remunerative soil, and unattracted to foreign fields by open roadsteads and favouring seas, it could develop fully the old patriarchal system, and fulfil the whole expectations concerning the people Israel. This it could accomplish by reason of its isolation, the faith of its people being kept pure from the superstitions which were accepted by the surrounding nations. And this order of things went on for century after century, till the time came for the special mission of the Hebrew people to terminate, and for their land to become the temporal home of a single nation, but the spiritual home of all. When the fulfilling of the law had come, and the outer bounds of the country had been broken through and the enemy had pressed in, the roads were opened at once for the dissemination of the gospel all over the world; and the very destruction of the Jewish capital, and the scattering of that nation, which occurred simultaneously with the fulfilling of the law in

the coming of the Saviour, were made means to the same wonderful end.

This union of amazing contrasts, perfect isolation and independence, with the ability to go out from this isolation and establish commercial relations with all the greatest nations of antiquity—the Arabians, Indians, and Egyptians, as well as with Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, and Romans—is the most striking feature in the country destined to be the scene of the history of the chosen people.

It is also an observable fact, and one which, even if it does not spring from the same physical conditions, is nevertheless closely connected with them, that the three great religions which emanated from that part of the earth—Judaism, Christianity, and Islamism—have proved themselves the ones for the reception of which men generally are most susceptible, and which have the greatest possibility of endurance. And these religions could only have gone out with the success which they have commanded, from a central region: had they sprung up in a country on one side, they would not have brought the district at the centre into speedy subjection. Even the realm of spiritual ideas is subject, therefore, to geographical conditions; but it is none the less a free realm notwithstanding: for that law of the Spirit, *i.e.* of God, although it is strong, and brings even the thoughts of men into subjection to it, yet rules in accordance with the truest and most certified principles of human liberty.

Looking now at Palestine more in detail, we discover that its barriers are very sharply defined on the west, the south, and the east, but that at the north it stretches away into Syria without a specially marked boundary line. Still, sharp mathematical lines are to be found nowhere in a scientific use of geography: it is connections rather than demarcations with which we have to do; dependence rather than independence; the mutual action and reaction of nations upon each other, rather than their isolated development. Just as little as any one limb of an animal organism can be detached from the living whole of which it forms a part, and studied by itself and independently of its relations, can any part of the world be viewed by itself, and be exhaustively studied. This has been too much the case with the writers of our ordinary geographical text-books; and the

lands which should have been exhibited in their living relations, have been presented as mere dead masses of rock and soil. We see, on the other hand, in every country, only a limb whose relations to the organic body must be sedulously traced, and whose special functions cannot be understood till they are studied, not in the imperfect light which a mere fragment yields, but in the perfect light which the whole throws upon every constituent part.

The principal character of Syria, of which Palestine forms only the south-western portion, is determined mainly by the direction of its mountain ranges: these, whether assuming the larger form or the smaller one of broad-backed hills, traverse the whole country in northerly and southerly lines. The Jordan and the Orontes run along the main valleys in just contrary directions—the former towards the greatest southerly, and the latter towards the greatest northerly depression. These lines serve to indicate the parallelism which obtains between the mountain ranges, the valleys, and the coast line of Syria. Three different kinds of territory are the result—three meridianal belts traceable all the way from the sea-shore to the eastern boundary.

East of these two main streams lies the desert, a plateau ranging from 1200 to 2000 feet in height, and stretching away eastward in unbroken uniformity; at the west is the coast, a belt varying in breadth; and between the two, the country proper, a broad mountain land, in elevation ranging from a very moderate altitude to the alpine proportions of Hermon, which towers 9000 feet above the sea.

The belt which runs along the eastern frontier from north to south, traversing all Syria from the extreme limits of the Taurus to the Sinai desert, is not remarkable for any marked grandeur in its physical features, and is tolerably uniform in its characteristics, being made up to a considerable extent of a broad plateau of steppe land, rock and sand and debris being freely intermingled in its formation, and forming an immeasurable succession of high plains, whose effect is manifest in the course of the Euphrates, which has been driven to the eastward thereby, and removed from the immediate neighbourhood of the Mediterranean Sea. Dotted only sparsely with places of fertility, oasis-like, it has always been the home of wild, nomadic Beduin

races, who, like Israel in its shepherd days, gain their subsistence by a restless wandering. Lying for the most part from one to two thousand feet above the sea, there are found here, in addition to the dry continental climate of the neighbouring Hèja, a bright sky, hot summers, severe winters, and cutting winds, especially from the east and north-east. Dryness, a scanty supply of trees and of springs, are the natural result of these physical conditions, as we know is the case along the whole southern frontier of Palestine. Yet there are certain portions of this tract which are very much favoured by their supply of water. For here is the great route for caravans on their way from the Euphrates to Arabia, passing from Zeugma, near el-Bir and Rumkala, southward *viâ* Aleppo, Damascus, el-Belka, on the east side of the Jordan and the Dead Sea to Medina and Mecca. All along the way there is a succession of oases, giving ample supplies of water for the needs of pilgrims, not lying in the direct line of travel, however, but causing it to turn and twist so as to embrace in its course these natural halting-places. The pilgrimage from Aleppo to Medina usually occupies forty-eight days, of which the half are usually consumed in Syria, the entire distance being what is embraced between 31° and 36½° N. lat., or about 364 miles. If we trace upon the map the chief halting-places of these pilgrims, we gain the clearest possible conception of their route.

From the Euphrates the caravans require two days to bring them to Aleppo, lying 1200 feet above the sea,[1] and at 36° 12′ N. lat.; thence to Homs (Emesa), on el-Aasi (the Orontes), it is a six days' march. Thence to Damascus, 33° 32′ 28″ N. lat., and at an altitude of over two thousand feet above the sea, it requires four days. From that point it is a nine days' march to Belka, at the north-eastern extremity of the Dead Sea; and the last stage is thence to the Kalaat el Hassa or el Hössa, near Shehak, 31° N. lat., at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. From that point the route lies for twenty-four days through Arabian soil, with the exception of the first three or four, which take the pilgrims over Kalaat, Aeneze, Maan, eastward from Petra to the Syrian Akaba, lying east of Jebal and Jebel Shera (Seir), through the intermediate territory of the ancient Syria Sobal, before they leave the country at the Akaba esh

[1] *Erdk.* x. 955.

Shamie or el Sham, and, crossing the rocky boundary, fairly enter the true Heja.

The second belt, running northward and southward—the maritime one at the west, the sea-coast of Syria—is of very moderate breadth, never over a few miles wide, and often reduced to a mere strip along the shore by the invasion of the rocky hills; never uniform for any considerable way, but subject to great diversities of form; extending from Gaza along the coast of Palestine, embracing Sephala and the celebrated plain of Sharon, as far as Carmel. Up to that point it has not been insignificant in its breadth; but after leaving Carmel it begins to narrow, sometimes being reduced to a mere fringe between the rocky precipices and the sea, as we find frequently to be the case in northern Soristan.

This maritime belt has therefore a certain analogy in its formation with the Arabian Tehama, which is subject in a measure to African influence, although it skirts the shore of the Red Sea. Still, as a western appendage of the Syrian mountain range, it is more abundantly watered, and is more fertile: by reason of its more northerly situation, it is less parched by the sun; by virtue of its relation to the Mediterranean, it enjoys mild, moist sea winds, and a denser foliage in consequence; and from the great mountain chain in the background, it has more grateful land winds, and greater diversity in the seasons. There was, besides, in the providence of God, a great advantage in the want of good harbours, in the unbroken sea-line which served as a direct guide to coasters, but which offered no inducements to them to tarry. This feature characterized the southern third of the entire Syrian shore, that of Palestine, and was one of the appointed means of keeping the people of that land true to their destiny, as a people "set apart;" while the middle third, that which belonged to Phœnicia, was abundantly provided not only with excellent harbours, but with large rivers, and with all the appliances which made them the first commercial nation of the globe, not only chronologically, but in the extent of their resources. This completed the contrast between the Phœnicians and Israel, allowing them to live side by side, and yet in perfect amity.

The third longitudinal belt, the one lying intermediate between the two already specified, belongs in like manner to

all Syria, but is so variously modified, that these modifications must have exerted a very powerful influence upon the character of the people inhabiting it. What a marked diversity between the eastern and the western sides!—the gradual terrace-like ascent from the wooded and deeply green plains by the sea, step after step to the high, rounded, grassy hill pastures of the south, or to the steep, rocky, alpine mountains of the centre, as well as those more to the north; and, on the contrary, towards the desert frontier at the east, the abrupt naked descent into the long valley of the upper Orontes, and the yet more wall-like valley of the Jordan, scarcely presenting a trace of analogy to the features of the western side of this great mountain belt. The northward and the southward flow of these two rivers is not more in contrast in respect to direction, than it is in all the natural types which are found there; and this despite the fact that they are cradled in almost the same spring. The Orontes is not a marked river in the history of the human race: the Jordan, on the contrary, more favoured by nature with tributary lakes, and with richer and rarer gifts, has attained to a remarkable place in its influence on the destinies of man. The Jordan is the leading river of the land. As in the oriental mode of speech a spring is called the "eye" of the landscape, so a river like the Jordan, fed by many springs, may be called the main artery of the land, quickening all life wherever it runs, giving occupation to all settlers upon it, and controlling even the movements of those who settle, by directing them to the most fruitful fields, and influencing vitally all commerce and all civilisation. Deriving its supplies of water from the snowy summits of Hermon and Lebanon, fed by their rains, by the stores which pour forth from the grottos and caves, and which are augmented by the lakes through which the Jordan flows, it is perennial in its influence; and when all the other adjacent streams of the country are dry and valueless, the sacred stream flows on, still continuing its bounty. With perfect naturalness, therefore, all Palestine looks up to those beautiful snow-crowned heights, whence all the blessings of the land flow down the Jordan vale; and ploughman and shepherd, singer and prophet, theology and poetry, catch thence their fairest symbols and their aptest similes. The depression of the Jordan valley is the most signal feature in

the geography of Palestine, and confers upon the whole country what is most eminently characteristic of it. For the Jordan is a river wholly unique: there is no other like it on the whole face of the earth; a purely inland river, having no embouchure at the sea, and closing its course at the very deepest part of the Old World, and far below the level of the ocean, running parallel with the neighbouring coast, and yet never approaching it from source to mouth. Without the adjacent sea this river could not have an existence: it as well as the Orontes would totally disappear; and the two valleys combined, with the exception of that formed by the lower Orontes after it turns abruptly towards the sea at Antioch, would constitute one unbroken cleft from the far north of Syria to the Red Sea itself. But now the Jordan, gathering its waters from snowy mountain-tops, and from permanent subterranean enclosures, flows over a succession of gradual terraces which are only partially arid, and through a succession of lake basins broken through and hollowed out of the solid rock: nowhere a true river system, but of very heterogeneous character; having no tributary streams, but rolling rapidly here and quickly there, traversing a mere cleft riven through the whole length of Palestine.

The long mountain range running from north to south, and whose eastern base is washed by the rivers just mentioned, consists of a number of parallel ridges of peaks with their adjacent spurs, containing some lofty summits and some high rocky swells, with valleys lying between, all of which are at a considerable elevation above the sea; the Val Bekaa, in which Baalbec is situated, between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, being 3000 feet above the ocean level. There is no great valley crossing these ridges eastward and westward: for had there been, the Jordan would not have lost itself in a small inland sea, but would have broken through to the Mediterranean, just as the Orontes once apparently did at the Mons Casius of the ancients, where it takes a sharp western turn towards the sea. The great plateau east of the Jordan valley was purposely intended to sink at the north, and the mountain ranges west of the Orontes also, preparatory to their rising again in the great Aman and Taurus chains, in order to effect the complete isolation of northern Soristan, and to allow a free passage for all

the nations of Hither Asia to go from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. Had there been a transverse valley across Palestine, it would have been turned to large account for this purpose, and the whole history of the country would have been different from what it has been.

And not only is there wanting a deep central valley from the east to the west of Palestine, but there are also wanting any that lie high, any which may serve approximately for the purposes of travel or traffic. All the lines run from north to south, and there are almost no clefts which allow free passage between these lateral lines: the few insignificant ones which do thus bridge the hill and mountain chains have been converted into places of great local importance. In the middle third of Syria (reckoning Palestine as the southern), the Lebanon range has proved an equally effectual barrier: it has but a single pass from Damascus to the Mediterranean; and the people of the whole region have made little progress, and transmit faithfully from generation to generation the modes and customs and opinions of their remote ancestors. The towering mountains, with their difficult passes, so limited the possibilities of civilisation there, that it was nearly all centred in Damascus at the east, and in the Phœnician cities on the seaboard; while on the rolling and more open and accessible hills of Palestine, men could labour more easily, and communicate with each other more readily; and the result was the building of the numerous cities of the south—Hebron, Sichem, Samaria, Jerusalem, Nazareth, Safed, and others. Middle Syria can show no parallel to this; as little can northern Syria; and the civilisation of those regions was compelled to centre at Damascus, Aleppo, and Hamath, in consequence of their relation to the Euphrates.

Although in the physical configuration of Syria, as I have thus far pictured it, a great share of the phenomena with which history has to deal may find its key, still there are other conditions, of which I must speak, which have also exerted a large influence. They are hypsometrical in their character: they deal with lines which do not run northward and southward, like those already studied, but eastward and westward, and which determine much of the hydrography of Syria.

I allude to the colossal piling up within the middle third of

the country, of the knotted masses which compose the Lebanon. The first result of this feature is the contrasted and divergent valleys of the Orontes and of the Jordan, each of them from sixty to seventy hours long (adopting the oriental method of measuring such distances); and the next is the formation of those abundant Phœnician streams which flow into the Mediterranean, as well as those which water the plateau of Damascus. Between the head waters of the two great Syrian rivers tower the two parallel ranges of the Lebanon (33° to 34½° N. lat.), dominating over all the landscape, branching out in all directions, and rising in some of their peaks to the height of 9000 feet. Among these colossal mountains we are not restricted longer to the mere valleys which run north and south, such as we have only found elsewhere; but here are transverse ravines as well, through which the abundant waters of Lebanon flow out in all directions. Thus the Barada, which with its tributaries flows directly from the heights of Anti-Lebanon to the plateau at the eastern base, gives to Damascus its beautiful girdle of gardens, and then, having no outlet to the Mediterranean, disappears in the Bahr el Merdj, like the Jordan in the Dead Sea.

On the western declivities there are many deep cross valleys also breaking through, beginning at Nahr Kasmieh (the Leontes) at the south, coming up by Sûr (Tyre), parting the knotted group of the Lebanon, and allowing for a great part of the year the free passage of the perennial mountain streams which dash grandly down, and enter the sea upon the Phœnician coast; a coast so richly supplied with harbours, and so favoured with the abundant irrigation of these numerous streams, and so securely protected from invasion on the land side by the wild masses of rock which advance almost to the sea-side, and so favoured by winds and currents and all the accessories of navigation, that from the earliest times every natural haven has witnessed the growth of a city upon it; and from that coast men were attracted in the very infancy of the world to push out and explore other regions, and build up a commerce with other and ruder nations.

What a contrast this presents to the lower coast of Syria, where there is to be found scarcely a single mountain stream, scarcely a brook even, and hardly a single harbour; with

almost the single exception of the Kishon (Keisûn), north of Mount Carmel, embouching in the Bay of Acre! Not in the magnitude of the streams of Palestine lies their importance, for they are all very small, none of them longer than men march in two or three days; not in their navigability, for they are all inaccessible to even the lighter kinds of shipping; but in their terrace-formed valleys, and in the deltas and the peculiar line of plains along the shore to which their dashing waters, carrying down the finely crumbled *detritus* of the hills, give rise. There was no lack of fertile plains along the seaboard of Palestine, and hence the industry of the early inhabitants won for it the fame of being a land flowing with oil, milk, and honey; and the Canaanitic agriculture, which converted the terraces on every hill-side into smiling gardens, was cited as the model of the whole Levant and southern Europe. The great difference between Phœnicia and Palestine was this, that the latter country retained within itself all the profitable land which its river-courses formed, and was able to avail itself of it. But the former country lost it in great measure; the dashing mountain streams swept the fine particles of alluvium out to sea, and allowed the formation of no rich plains along the coast. This also tended to drive the people to the pursuits of navigation and commerce.

This great mountain chain of Lebanon, then, struggling upwards towards the line of perpetual snow, but hardly anywhere reaching it, yet gathering each winter enough of snow and ice to serve as a sufficient supply for the summer to come, is what proves so rich and fruitful a blessing to southern and central Syria. Its loftiest summits are found, too, at the southern extremity of the chain; and this especially favours Palestine. The countries which cluster around the base of Lebanon are supplied with constant moisture, while those at a distance from it, the great Syrian plains, are scantily watered. The Holy Land may be considered as a great oasis in the desert. The entire domain of Egypt, Arabia, and Assyria is only scantily dotted with patches of verdure, or lined with it along the rivers' sides; but the Lebanon once blessed all Palestine, and covered it with streams.

Syria is divided, as we now see, not only into the three long belts which follow the direction of the meridian, the eastern or

continental, the western or maritime, and the central or the mountainous, but it is also subdivided into southern, central, and northern Syria by other characteristics. The central portion is the province covered by the Lebanon, which separates as a mighty barrier the northern from the southern, and whose branches are so far inferior to it in size, that they can lay no claim to analogy in respect of altitude, but merely in respect of general configuration and physical character.

Without the Lebanon, Syria would not have differed essentially from Persia or Arabia, and would have been utterly unable to play that part in history which has been accorded to her. But with the towering Lebanon to yield supplies of moisture, Damascus could become not merely the delightful city of gardens which she has always been, but one of the most ancient homes of culture on the earth. The deeply indented shore on the west, with its rivers, and the harbours which were formed at their rocky mouths, could become the home of a great commercial people, and an outlet for all the products of the busy East. The northern portion, Soristan, the country which served as the track of travellers on their way from the most western bending of the Euphrates to the turning of the Orontes at Antioch, was the most meagrely supplied of all, and yet it was not unsupplied with the waters of the Lebanon; while the southern third, Canaan, the later Palestine, was richly watered from Hermon down—was kept fruitful by the influence of its leading river—was made conscious of its own wealth, its own independence of the rest of the world, its own security: and so cherishing its own resources, and adding to them, it went on in its chosen path of inward growth, without foreign wars, and without any contact with the world without, until at last the time arrived when it too was made a prey, and was tossed up and down in the flooding and ebbing of battle. But that this could happen at all was indicated by the physical structure of the country, and by the manner of its connection through Cœlo-Syria with Soristan. And yet despite this, and despite all the analogies which bind the southern third of the country to the northern third, there is enough left to bring Palestine out into amazing prominence as a country providentially appointed as the home of a people who were to be "set apart."

Both the northern and the southern sections of Palestine

are effectually shut off from the central or the Lebanon province; Palestine proper, or the land of the Jordan, is essentially divorced from Soristan, or the land of the Orontes. The latter river rises in the high Lebanon range, but it very soon leaves it, or flows as a mere neighbour to its eastern base, the river being skirted on the east by the vast Syrian plateau. The Jordan, on the contrary, plunges down at once into a deep ravine, in which lies its entire course thereafter, its eastern margin not being a vast plateau, but a towering wall of rock, precipice-like, sometimes rising to the height of thousands of feet, and running back from the river in the form of cool, breezy plains, not destitute of pasturage. This difference in the configuration of the two river basins made a great change in their historical influence; for whereas the Orontes, open on the east to the free advance of the wandering races who came westward from Hither Asia, presented no obstacle, the Jordan was effectually closed, and the hordes of the Heja menaced it in vain. The destinies of Soristan were consequently most intimately connected with those of Assyria and Mesopotamia: the basin of the lower Orontes was a highway for nations—a great channel for commerce, as the history of Tadmor, Palmyra, Antioch, and Aleppo shows—a connecting link between the East and the West, between the Euphrates and Asia Minor. Assyrians, Persians, Parthians, Romans, Greeks, Seleucidians, Saffanidians, Mongolians, and Turks, pressed into the land, and at present the Turcomans hold undisputed possession of it: wave after wave swept those away who had for a little season possessed it, and there was never time when any nation could abide there long enough to form a history. But at the south, and along the Jordan valley, there never was any commingling of races: the barrier was effectual, and checked all invasion until that of the Mohammedans. The traffic of the Israelites under Solomon, in the Nabathæan period, as well as that of the patriarchs with Egypt, was not effected through the channel by which Joshua entered the land, but by traversing the Sinaitic desert. More temporary yet were the transits across the land of one of the Pharaohs, Alexander, and the Seleucidæ; while the Roman and Byzantine power found their limit outside of Palestine.

The greater abundance of springs, brooks, rivers, and lakes,

must also be taken into account, as adding very much to the value of Palestine as the permanent home of a nation; for the great lake (Famieh or Bohaire), found on some modern maps, between Hama and Antioch, and near Apomea, must be struck out, being placed there only by hypothesis, to preserve a supposed analogy between that district and that at the south.

A third difference lies in the method and skill in agriculture among the Hebrews, who followed what I have indicated by the expression terrace-culture,—a method still in vogue on the Phœnician hills. What was not found in any one of the three divisions of Syria, were those broad fertile plains, the existence of which is essential to the existence of any extremely populous country. This want Phœnicia could supply by means of its large foreign commerce, which made the then known world a granary; but Palestine and Soristan could not supply it. Both of these districts were removed respectively but a few days' march over the desert, from two countries which could furnish them with corn in times of great scarcity: Mesopotamia to the latter, Egypt to the former. What an influence such a dependence gave to those great centres of civilisation, is well known: it conferred upon them their empire as well as their culture, and caused all power, and wisdom, and luxury to be briefly summed up, when men pronounced the names of Memphis and Babylon.

CHAPTER II.

REVIEW OF THE AUTHORITIES ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE.

TO give a complete catalogue *raisonnée* of the sources whence our knowledge of the geography of Palestine is drawn, is not one of the objects which I have assigned to myself in the task on which I am engaged. Although I know of no work which exhausts the extraordinary riches of this field, yet there is an admirable preparation made, in view of this end, in the lists of authorities given by Reland, Pococke, Meusel, Bellermann, Rosenmüller,[1] Berghaus,[2] Hammer-Purgstall,[3] and more especially by von Raumer[4] and Robinson,[5] which last, as far as to about the end of the fifteenth century, is one of the most complete and critically perfect that we possess. Others which we have from the English and the French[6] are valuable.

The simple task remains to me, to refer to the original authorities to that extent which may be necessary to help me to exhibit in a broad and general way the manner in which I propose to treat the geography of Palestine, in order to grasp it completely, and to bring it up to that position where it shall be in our power to detect and eliminate old traditional errors, and to discover the gaps which are to be filled up in the course of

[1] Rosenmüller, *Handbuch der biblischen Alterthumskunde*, vol. i. 1823, pp. 6–130; *Erkenntnissquellen der biblischen Alterthumskunde.*

[2] H. Berghaus, *Memoir zur Karte von Syrien*, Gotha 1835, pp. 1–21.

[3] Rev. in the *Wiener Jahrbüchern*, 1836, 1839, 1843, v. 74, 87, and 1843.

[4] K. v. Raumer, *Palästina*, 2d ed. 1838, pp. 2–19.

[5] E. Robinson, *Bib. Researches*, ii. 533–555.

[6] John Kitto, *Palestine, the Bible Hist. of the Holy Land*, Lond. 1848, pp. iv.–xxiii.; Munk, *Palestine*, Paris 1845, pp. 654–658; *Sur les Voyages de la Palestine.*

future discovery. A condensed historical survey of the course of events in the Holy Land, and of the authors who have recorded those events, will be the most satisfactory means of attaining the end in view.

I. GENTILE AUTHORITIES BEFORE CHRIST.

In times previous to the advent of Christ, Palestine did not draw universal attention to itself, as it has done since: it remained long unknown to the most splendid nations of antiquity, the domain of a nation little regarded, little understood. Nor did it hold this obscure position except in accordance with the very will and counsel of God. Because no commerce knit its people to other nations, and because no common religious opinions bound them to the rest of mankind, their country remained intact, and was only invaded in times of exceptional disaster. As the land of Canaan, it was utterly unknown to the world: as that of the children of Israel, it first comes into note in the book of Joshua, during the wars which disturbed it at the time of its conquest, and its division among the twelve tribes. The Pharaohs had some knowledge of the people who dwelt in Canaan, but they never entered the land. Only Pharaoh Necho, in his expedition to the Euphrates, touched the valley of the Jordan on his way, and slew king Josiah at Megiddo (2 Chron. xxxv. 22). This is one of the few places in Palestine to which Herodotus refers (ii. 159). He speaks of it indefinitely as belonging to the territory of the "Syrians."

The Assyrians and the Babylonians overran Palestine with their armies, but they never took the country under their protection, or acknowledged it as a dependent province. The most that they did was to subjugate it, and receive its tribute. The people were carried away captive to Babylon, and the land remained a wilderness, the spoil of any random settlers who might wish to occupy and possess it. Cyrus at length gave the people full permission to return to their own country; but in the opulent Susa they were in little haste to see again the hills beyond the Jordan. Darius Hystaspis suffered them to offer their sacrifices to Jehovah; Darius Codomannus bound them, after their return to Jerusalem, by an oath, never more to take up arms against him.

Whatever, therefore, the inquisitive Herodotus learned in Babylon, Tyre, Sidon, or elsewhere, regarding this unknown land of Palestine, only related to what belonged to its west coast, to the neighbourhood of Gaza and Askelon and the Egyptian frontier, and is quite unimportant, valuable though his accounts are of the people and the countries in the immediate vicinity. Only under David and Solomon do we find Arabians from Sabæa and Phœnicians from Tyre entering Judæa, in consequence of hearing of the wisdom of Solomon, or for the purpose of assisting in the building of the temple: there appears then that short period of maritime connection between the people of Palestine and the remote East, of which I have already fully spoken in the account of the Ophir voyages.

With the expeditions of Alexander the Great, the veil which had hidden the East from view so long was lifted; and amid the rest that was disclosed, Palestine too was brought into view. That, after reducing Tyre, the conqueror marched through Samaria and Judæa as far as Gaza, is certain; but whether he offered sacrifices in Jerusalem to Jehovah, as Josephus[1] asserts, and as the fathers all agree—not with the concurrence[2] of later historians, however, despite the efforts of St Croix[3] to establish Josephus' statement—is more uncertain; but after that time, Palestine became a land full of interest to Greek writers. For many Macedonians and Greeks accompanied Alexander on his expeditions, among them Hecateus of Abdera, probably the first of his nation who diffused correct information regarding Palestine among his countrymen. His writings, however, like all those of his cotemporaries who described the country which we are now to study, were unfortunately lost. All that we can gather of them is to be gained from the quotations, perhaps a little garbled, which Josephus makes from them, or from the later compilation of Arrian relating to the history of Alexander.[4] Jerusalem was then,

[1] Fl. Josephi *Antiq. Jud.* ed. Haverc. xi. 8vo, pp. 578–582.

[2] Droysen, *Gesch. Alexanders d. G.* Berlin 1833, p. 197; Gesenius, in Ersch's *Encyclop.* Pt. iii. p. 25; Fr. Chr. Schlosser, *Universal-histor. Uebers. der Gesch. der alten Welt.* Pt. iii. Abth. 2, 1831, p. 178.

[3] St Croix, *Examen critique des anciens historiens d'Alexandre le Grand*, sec. ed. Paris 1804, 4to, pp. 547-562.

[4] Arriani, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 1.

according to the statement of Agatharchides of Cnidos,[1] a very large city, well defended by nature and by art: its high priest Jaddus opened the gates and the temple promptly to the conqueror; and "Jehovah interposed," says Josephus, "to save the place from destruction." At all events, the great Jewish capital was spared the fate which befell its proud neighbours, Tyre, Gaza, and so many other capitals. Palestine did not seem insignificant to the Macedonian king; for we find him mentioning it, in a speech delivered to the army (Arrian, *de Exped. Al.* vii. 9), as one of the new provinces of his empire, and placing a governor over the Jordan district, and Samaria as well. After the division of his monarchy, Palestine again fell out of notice; even the Seleucides had little to do with it; and almost the only contact which the Lagides had with it, was in the taking away a hundred thousand of the inhabitants, and colonizing them on the Nile. Pompey was the first who made the Romans acquainted with Palestine: he destroyed the power of the last independent king in Hither Asia, Mithridates[2] of Pontus, and then withdrew with his victorious army from Cilicia through Judæa to Arabia Petræa, plundering and desecrating the temple of Jehovah on his way. Judæa was then disturbed by a civil war between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus: the Romans took no further part in it than to reduce the first to the place of a sacerdotal ethnarch, tributary to themselves, and to annex Palestine to Syria as a Roman province. The story is told in full by Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* xiv. 3, 4), but the Roman historians have passed over it very cursorily. But not long after the time of Pompey, Palestine began to be a land of interest to the Romans; and in the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Vespasian, and Titus, and particularly during the siege of the last, it was described with a good degree of detail.

Still it must be confessed that the country was to the Romans nothing but a battle-ground, and its inhabitants nothing but enemies or tributary provincials. So far as their *castra* and *viæ militares* extended, so far only did they take note of places and make reckoning of distances. Farther than their own garrisoned stations they did not care to go;

[1] Fl. Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 1.

[2] Joh. v. Müller, *Allg. Gesch.* i. p. 290.

and hence we have no gradual toning down of what is light into what grows more and more obscure, but a sharp line between what is clear and what is gross darkness. Geography does not owe a great deal to Roman efforts: only a few of the great men of that country—such, for instance, as Cicero (Cic. *de lege agraria contr. Rull.* 25)—set any value upon it; and neither Polybius, Strabo, nor Claudius Ptolemy, the great leaders in geographical science during the reigns of the emperors, were Romans. That lustful *Imperium Romanum* had but one great object, and that was to absorb the whole *orbis terrarum* within itself; and whatever lay beyond the lines which marked the outer frontier of the empire, troubled the Romans as little as what lies in the outer "barbarian" world troubles Mussulmen and Chinese. And when we add to this the absurd representations and the errors which prevailed about the Jewish nation, and found expression on the pages of the most accomplished and wisest of the Romans, even of their greatest historians, it is not hard to see how little we owe that nation for a knowledge of the geography of Palestine. The Romans derive the origin of the Jews from Crete, finding their only reason in the resemblance between Ida and Juda: they call Moses Bacchus, because they happen to discover a kind of *thyrsus* among the sacred insignia of the temple. Even Tacitus, who gives in his history (lib. v.) a brief compendium of Jewish antiquities, remarks that everything which a Roman looks upon as holy, a Jew looks upon as profane, and *vice versa*. When Pompey entered the holy of holies of the temple at Jerusalem, he found there not a single image: a kind of horror seized him at the atheism of the Jews. And Tacitus gives his concurrence with Pompey in this matter, although he does acknowledge that the Jews claim to have a "God in their heart who is eternally unchangeable."

The so-called classic period of antiquity gives very little light to us in studying the ancient geography of Palestine: that which is so rich and valuable for determining the facts and the scenes of profane history, leaves us here without help. Yet the meagre accounts of Strabo, Diodorus, Tacitus, and Claudius Ptolemy should not pass unread; nor Pliny, who gave the best compendium of the topography of Palestine (*H. N.* v. 14, 15). Nor are their *itineraria* and tables of distances

without value, difficult as they are sometimes to make out, and compare with the results of modern travel.

II. NATIVE JEWISH SOURCES.

In great contrast with the meagre list of authorities on Palestine which the classic writers display, is the abundant material which is supplied, to an extent unparalleled in any other country of the globe, by the native writers of the land itself. The history which they furnish flows uninterruptedly on like a full, freely-moving stream, watering the roots of the massive forests of the great primeval world of human destinies. Through the great trees the clear light of heaven can be distinctly seen; but here and there are great blots of darkness—the passages of Jewish history which are impenetrably obscure. The sources to which I refer are the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, together with many valuable apocryphal writings. The writings of Josephus, too, are reckoned among our prominent authorities; but their character is of another sort.

The contents of the biblical books are not, however, to be considered as intentionally or directly geographical: they are so, as a general rule, only in a secondary sense; and it is only in the last two of the books of Moses and in that of Joshua that we find tabulated lists of a topographical character. In many of the other books of the Bible, what is geographical is merely illustrative of the religious or historical meaning. Nevertheless great weight is to be allowed for just those statements which in a merely secondary sense are geographical; for they are all the more trustworthy in their nature, that they were given without special design. They are of great service, too, in enabling us to gain a conception of the land as a whole, and to set it before us just as it was when the authors who allude casually to its geography wrote. This gives an inestimable worth to writings which throw an indirect light upon our path; for those truths which are brought to us naturally and simply, and not in the dress of an artistic representation, are those which most command our assent. We prize them most when we see them not isolated, but woven smoothly into the fabric of history. We have already found it so in a number of instances which met us in our study of the geography of the Sinai Peninsula: we

have found that we could interpret the records of the past best by familiarity with the nature of that land at the present time;[1] and we have also discovered a remarkable correlation between the events which are said to have transpired there, and the scene where they transpired. And it is just as strikingly the case in Palestine; and the geography of that country, as we find it to-day, is the strongest testimony of the truth of that history which purports to emanate thence. The natural scenery of Palestine speaks in but one voice in favour of the Bible; every word of the sacred narrative receives its best interpretation by being studied in connection with the place where it was recorded. No one can trace without joy and wonder the verification which geography pays to the history of the Holy Land. So strong is the argument drawn thence, that the most subtle dialectician is baffled by it, and is entrapped in the net which his own sophistry has spun.

In the biblical books, then, we have all the elements which we need to enable us to realize the natural characteristics of Palestine, and to set it before the mind's eye in all the glow and reality of a perfect picture. We are transported to the land itself, and see it for ourselves, gaining thereby a far more satisfactory impression of it than any description taken from without would furnish. Does not every reader, does not even the imaginative mind of childhood, reproduce, after perusing the picturesque narrative of Abraham's life, and form for itself a life-like representation of the land of Canaan and the knightly shepherd life of the patriarchs? Does any one go over the account of the journey of Israel through the wilderness, and not picture to himself Edom and the lofty Sinai and Horeb? The book of Joshua transports the reader across the Jordan to Jericho, takes him from the camp at Gilgal to the high hills of the Amorite princes and the other Canaanite kings; and after the victory is won, speaks out before the eye a bright and living picture of the land as it lay divided among the twelve tribes of Israel. Could any one be introduced to the country by more competent guides? From the wilderness of Arabia, from Kadesh-Barnea and Beersheba in the south to the sources of the Jordan near Dan, and to the heights of Hermon and Lebanon, the Promised Land comes out in the narrative of Joshua in all

[1] See K. von Raumer's *Palästina*, 2d ed. p. 2.

its unity, and with all its characteristic features, in the best possible manner to aid us in our study of its geography.

From the historical books which follow, we learn the political relations with other nations to which the geographical character of the country led; the Psalmist and the prophets then lead us further on, and teach us what the people themselves thought of their own home, and of the lands adjoining. From the two we learn the connection between Palestine and its inhabitants on the one hand, and the history of the World and the will of Jehovah on the other. And if the Pentateuch and Joshua give us the most important geographical data, it is not to be denied that we owe a great deal of illustrative material to the books of Judges, the Chronicles, the Maccabees, the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and others.

The books of the New Testament give fewer detailed geographical features than those of the Old; yet the graphic manner in which mountains and rivers, special districts, popular customs, climate and seasons, architecture, and the fruits of the earth are touched, give us so clearly defined a picture, that the whole life of Jesus, His walks through the country, His teachings, so richly illustrated as they were by the scenes in which He lived, are intelligible not to the people of Palestine only, but to those of every land. And meagre as is the mere number of places mentioned in the New Testament, yet as clearness is worth more than number, the books of the Christian dispensation have a priceless geographical value. The names of Galilee and of the Sea of Tiberias enclose a whole world of hallowed scenes and memories.

Outside of the Scriptures, Josephus holds the first and the only place among the native authors of Judæa; for Philo of Alexandria, the later Talmud, and other authorities, are of little service in understanding the geography of the country. Josephus is, however, to be used with great care. As a Jewish scholar, as an officer of Galilee, as a military man, and a person of great experience in everything belonging to his own nation, he attained to that remarkable familiarity with his country in every part, which his antiquarian researches so abundantly evince.[1] But he was controlled by political motives: his great

[1] Flav. Josephi, *Opera omnia*, ed. S. Havercamp, Amsterlod. fol. 1726, T. i. ii.; R. Traill, new translation of the works of Josephus; Phil. Chasles,

purpose was to bring his people, the despised Jewish race, into honour with the Greeks and Romans; and this purpose underlay every sentence, and filled his history with distortions and exaggerations. In his *Jewish Antiquities* he had no authorities but that which we enjoy in common with him—the Old Testament; and in this field we can follow him, and correct many of his misstatements. But in his accounts of the great war which swept over his country during his life, and in the detailed topographical descriptions which he gives in connection with it, we are unhappily without any means of following and correcting him. To add to the uncertainties which perplex us in Josephus, he wrote his books at an advanced period of his life, and in a foreign land, and so either fell unavoidably into mistakes about distances and like matters, or else purposely exaggerated the simple truth. It may not be uncharitable to suspect that the latter was the cause of many of his errors; for he does not conceal the duplicity of his nature in the sketch which he has given us of his own life. Nevertheless the authority of Josephus is great respecting the general geographical character of his own country; and his writings are to be accepted and used, with care indeed, but as a rich storehouse of original material, whose want could not be supplied.

III. CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

A third source is the Christian literature of the middle ages, so far as it touches upon Palestine; and with this may be coupled some works of Moslem writers of the same period. The list of these given by Meusel[1] and others is so full, that it is not necessary for me to give it anew. I write only to specify one or two works which are worthy of the most careful study, among which is conspicuous, Blasius Ugolinus, *Antiquitates Sacræ*, Venetiis 1744–1769, 34 vols., which is a vast storehouse of investigations regarding our subject, made by the most competent scholars and thinkers of many centuries. Nor

Etudes historiq.; Schlosser, *i.a.l.* pp. 77–79; Rosenmüller, *i.a.l.* pp. 7–11; De Wette, *Lehrbuch der hebr. jüdisch. Archäologie*, 3d ed. 1842, p. 7, etc. etc.

[1] Joh. G. Meusel, *Bibliotheca historica*, vol. i. p. 2, Lips. 1784, pp. 1–112; Rosenmüller, Robinson, etc. etc.

should I pass by the celebrated *Onomasticon Urbium et Locorum Sacræ Scripturæ*, edited by Bonfrère and Clericus, in which Eusebius and Jerome[1] have indicated the situation of places mentioned in the Bible, so far as they were acquainted with it. Eusebius died about A.D. 340, after living a long time in Palestine as bishop of Cæsarea. Yet, notwithstanding his protracted residence, he never attained to that thorough geographical knowledge of the country possessed by Jerome, the most learned of the theologians of the East. The latter was born in Dalmatia, educated in Rome, and after travelling largely, pursued his studies so long in Palestine, that he seemed to be almost a native of the country. Eusebius' Greek geographical index to the Bible Jerome translated into Latin; but he did not stop there: he added comments and corrections, producing a result of great accuracy and value. He died at Bethlehem in 420, after residing there for many years. Many errors which crept in from the Septuagint translation, many different ways of writing the same name, and the additions which have been made by later editors, to whose care we are probably indebted for the alphabetical arrangement, make it necessary to use the *Onomasticon* with a certain degree of caution, which is heightened by the fact that, at the period when Eusebius and Jerome lived, many of the localities mentioned in the Old Testament had long been forgotten, and their site was merely conjectural, or assigned by the voice of tradition, to which these good fathers too easily assented. Their accounts, where they do not palpably harmonize with the Scripture narrative, are to be subjected therefore to careful investigation.[2] A new edition of their work, prepared with the aid of all the new critical and illustrative material which has been recently added to our sources of knowledge, is much to be desired; and much light would be shed upon the *Onomasticon* by the miscellaneous writings of Jerome, in which he has made statements quite in antagonism to those in that work, and which are far more trustworthy, as the results of his latest and largest experience. Such a task

[1] *Onomasticon Urbium et Locorum Sacræ Scripturæ*—1. *Liber de Locis hebraicis, etc.*, ed. Bonfrère, Paris ed. 1631, ed. 1659 recensuit et auxit Joh. Clericus, Amstelodami 1707, fol. Also in Bl. Ugolini, *Thes.* vol. v. fol. 1–379; and Rhenfredi, *Pericula critica in loca Eusebii, etc.*, in *Opp.*

[2] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* i. 225, 226.

has but very recently been accomplished in connection with a yet earlier work, the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*,[1] which was written in 333 by an unknown traveller from Aquitania (Burdigala, Bourdeaux), who made a pilgrimage to the Basilica erected by Constantine the Great in Jerusalem, and whose account of the stations and distances in Palestine is the most ancient of all those which come under the present division of authorities. The *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* give only names and measurements in Roman miles. Stephen of Byzantium, περὶ πόλεων, writing in the beginning of the sixth century, and the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, who in the fifteenth chapter of the second book cites the names of some fifty places in Palestine, which he probably culled from various *itineraria*, and threw together without any arrangement, have left us materials of only subordinate value. It is very different, however, with the travels of the palmers or pilgrims to the Holy Land, of whom I shall next speak.

IV. THE RECORDS OF PILGRIMAGE.

This name can be applied to nearly all the older narratives of journeys to the Holy Land; for those travels were almost always undertaken with more or less regard to a religious end, and in a desire to view the scenes of the Saviour's life, to visit the places which commemorate the events of Old Testament history, and to tread the ground hallowed by the steps of saints and martyrs. Nor was this done out of a mere idle curiosity, but in the grave conviction that to look upon those sacred scenes was to help the soul to secure its salvation. That the ground which had once been so ennobled should be desecrated by the temples which Hadrian erected in honour of Venus, Zeus, or Adonis, only increased the desire of Christians to behold the places thus put to these shameful uses. Cyrillus[2] is one of the few authors who witnessed and described the condition of affairs in Palestine before the purification which followed the accession of the

[1] G. Parthey et M. Pinder, *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum*, Berol. 1848, *præfat.* xxxiv., and pp. 261–290, together with an excellent itinerary by the editor.

[2] G. C. Reischl, *Theol. de Patr. Cyrilli, Hierosol. Episc. Opera quæ supersunt omnia*, vol. i., Monachi 1848; *Vita*, p. xvi. etc. etc.

Byzantine power to the control of the Holy Land; he was born A.D. 315, and in 347 was appointed presbyter, and then *episcopus Hierosolymorum.* In *Catechis.* xii. c. 20, he says: Bethlehem locum ante paucos annos fuisse sylvestrem. *Catech.* xv. 5: In loco, in quo crucifixus est, prius hortum fuisse, cujus adhuc vestigia et reliquiæ manent. *Catechis.* ib. 9: Ante sepulchri exornationam a Constantino factam, speluncam fuisse sancto sepulchro pro vestibulo, quæ Constantini jussu erasa fuit. Porro sancta loca post annum 326 purgari et exornari cæperunt. When Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, after the victory over Maxentius A.D. 312, and the adopting of the cross as the emblem on the Greek banners, began to build Christian churches on the sites of the Scripture scenes, the number of pilgrims to the Holy Land rapidly increased. She herself went thither in 326, and, according to Nicephori *Histor.* viii. c. 30, erected more than thirty chapels and churches in the country. Thousands followed her thither, many of them to remain. Countless unfortunates, who were the victims of the incessant persecutions of the Western Empire, fled thither to escape the cruelty which met them at home. Especially was this the case when, in 409 and 410, Alaric the Goth stormed Rome and ravaged Italy. The number who fled then to Palestine was beyond computation. Many of these put themselves under the protection of Jerome, who was then living there, and who, in his letters, tells many a touching story of the woes of these enforced pilgrims and petitioners for his hospitality. The same sad history was repeated in every one of the descents of the barbarians upon the various Roman provinces. And when the Vandals scoured Christian Africa in 429, they drove from the land a great number of believers, who at once fled for refuge to the Terra Sancta near by.

Meanwhile the attacks of these northern barbarians filled the minds of men who, though unbelievers, were yet inclined to Christianity, with dismay. And men who were enlightened by the gospel, saw, or thought that they saw, the hand of their God in all those sad events: they believed that His judgments were now poured out, and that He was pulling down all false idols from their high places, and asserting His own unrivalled sway. Prompted by the advice of St Augustine, the Spanish

presbyter, Paul Orosius,[1] wrote in 420 his history, in which this thought had free expression.

Great numbers of the persecuted believers, as was said above, found peace and rest in the Holy Land—in the country of so many sacred memories. Besides, under the Byzantine sway, this province enjoyed a season of quiet and security which it perhaps never had before, and which it has not had since. It was not till long after this time that the sword of the Koran was drawn, and the soil of this land reddened with the blood of its inhabitants. In the fifth and sixth centuries it was densely peopled, and every part of its territory was covered with Christian churches, even to the most sequestered nooks; and it was one of the most flourishing provinces of the Empire of the East.

In addition to the numbers of settlers and colonists who thronged to Palestine, there was a great increase among the clergy, the monks, and the hermits of the country; in one word, among all who in that epoch, when the typical life of the convent was just finding expression, had turned their back upon the world, and were seeking a place of undisturbed meditation as the best preparation for heaven. The pious liberality of the imperial house of Constantinople, and particularly of Justinian, gave a fresh impetus to the establishment of churches, convents, bishoprics, and was seen at once in the edifices which arose, conspicuous among which was the Convent of Sinai (see Procopius, *de Ædificiis Imperatoris Justiniani*; lib. v. c. 6–9). Everywhere churches, chapels, convents, with hospices close by for the entertainment of guests, showed the generous bounty of the Byzantine rulers. Not only were the fruitful valleys and hills of Jerusalem, Shechem, Nazareth, and Galilee, covered with luxuriance; but cisterns, baths, hermitages, and grottos, transformed even the hitherto unpeopled desert into a home for man. The countless ruins which are still seen testify to the extraordinary activity and prosperity of those times. At the place where John the Baptist had led the Saviour down to the waters of the Jordan, the extreme sanctity of the spot was commemorated by a pavement of marble, and hundreds of thousands resorted thither to bathe in the sacred stream: one

[1] Pauli Orosii, *Presbyteri Hispani adversus Paganos Historiarum*, libri vii. ed. S. Havercampus, Lugd. Batavor. 1767; lib. i. ad Aurelium Augustinum, p. 1 et sq.

itinerary tells us that there was a gathering-place for all the peoples of the earth. The valley of the Jordan was transformed into a hermitage, inhabited by throngs of recluses. The terrors and wonders of the Dead Sea drew so many monks to the wild recesses on its rocky border, that about the year 600 it is asserted that not less than twenty monasteries stood there. Antoninus Martyr speaks of them in his itinerary, written at about that date: at one of them 10,000 monks are said to have dwelt; and the grottos and caverns now observable in the neighbourhood of the Convent of St Saba—the almost inaccessible places of refuge for those thronging multitudes—even now fill the traveller with wonder.

But soon there came a change, and all this fair prosperity was brought to nought; for in the seventh century the sword of the Arab passed over the land, and transformed it into a waste and a solitude. A remarkable combination of oppression, want, superstition, and a hallowed longing to see the scenes of Bible story, had peopled the land with refugees from Europe. But the tide turned; and many who had gone thither with a desire to gain the salvation of their soul,[1] were forced to flee from this terrible power, which came up from Arabia, and to leave behind the spiritual advantages of Palestine, bearing away with them, however, more palpable blessings still.

To these supposed blessings, in addition to the forgiveness of sins itself, and the absolution which the church granted for many years in consideration of these pilgrimages, belonged also the relics, on the retaining of which the continuance of absolution hinged. Thus was renewed in the Christian scheme the old pagan idea of the virtue contained in amulets, which, when brought home, served as a charm to secure the pilgrim from danger, and which could transmit their influence to others. The virtue of these relics increased rather than diminished with age; and their sacred power to charm away ill, descended as an heirloom from generation to generation. The relics were, as a general rule, articles which had had a certain relation to the life of the Saviour, or to that of the apostles and martyrs. Earth, wood, water from hallowed ground and from the Jordan, garments dipped in that sacred river—all were esteemed precious.

[1] Regarding the pilgrimages, see Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreutzzüge*, Leipzig 1807, Pt. i. pp. 3–19, 32, etc.

In like manner, the pilgrim's staff, the shell with which he dipped the waters from the holy wells, palm branches, thorns, garlands, flowers like the roses of Jericho growing in the very desert, and reputed to have been carried by Mary in her flight to Egypt, had the odour of sanctity upon them. The balm of Gilead, the pitch from the Dead Sea, were also esteemed very holy; but above all relics in value, were the bones of saints and martyrs, dragged out of their reputed graves, and given away even to the last fragments.

Far more full of peril, and far greater the merit, when pilgrimages were made and relics taken away after the followers of Mohammed, the bitter enemies of all Christians, had entered Palestine as conquerors, and swept over the whole East. It was accounted as a deed of that poorness of spirit which Christ extolled, when the courage was exhibited that ventured to break through the iron bonds which the caliphs in 634 set around Jerusalem, in the establishment of their mosques there as well as through the Levant. Then, to make a pilgrimage to the land of the unbelievers was equivalent to martyrdom, and heaven was the certain reward for such a deed of daring as to venture thither. Those who returned safely after such a perilous undertaking, gained a high place in the estimation of their fellows; and worldly advantages quickly followed—for those who had ventured so far had learned to use their knowledge to good purpose—and soon opened the channels of a lucrative trade with the people of Palestine. Those who went sent back to their friends full accounts of their adventures and perils, glowing descriptions of the sacred places, and of life in this new field of experience: these accounts furnished not only entertainment to those who were left behind, but edification as well; and when transcribed, they were publicly read in schools, convents, and churches. The many hundreds of pilgrimages to the Holy Land gave rise to a voluminous mass of documents of the above character; and after the Crusades the number was so much augmented as to become literally beyond computation. In their day they formed the favourite reading of the western world, being edifying and romantic at the same time: they were copied largely (not always without some changes and additions), and were passed from hand to hand, from convent to convent, from school to school, from land to land.

Monks carefully preserved them as the most cherished memorials of the founders of the order or the abbey to which they were attached, or of the knights whose patronage and protection they enjoyed. All classes being so closely united by the ties of the church, had an interest in these memorials of eastern travel. Many hundreds of those documents have come down to us; they display even now the marks of their wide diffusion. Many of them have been printed and given to the world. They generally bear some such title as—*Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, *Hodoeporicum*, or *Itinerarium*, and they usually have an appendix containing the *mirabilia mundi*, *de locis sanctis*, or the like. Their values are exceedingly varied: in some there is displayed the whole range of learning which their authors could employ for the elucidation of Scripture; in others, all the remarkable features of the Holy Land are touched upon and held up rather in a secular than in a sacred light: here are some which express the outpouring of some longing pilgrim's soul; there, some which can only serve as guide-books for those who wish to know the main routes of travel: here are authentic and instructive transcripts from nature, trustworthy representations of what has actually been seen and experienced; there, mere collections of idle tales and legends, and the exaggerations of superstition,—mere copies, it may be, and repetitions of what had often been told before—the results of a morbid curiosity to see what is supernatural, and to find the Holy Land still the home of miracle. Such records as the last-named throw no light on those subjects which concern us in our present studies.

In respect, too, to the period of time in which these accounts were written, their value is exceedingly varied; but the careful use of them, taking them up in a strictly chronological order, is by no means a useless exercise, and often leads to unexpected light, and to results which are seen even at the present day. The most important of them, which were written before the time of the Crusades, are the accounts of the unknown author of *Burdigala* (Bourdeaux), of Antoninus Martyr, Arculfus, Willibaldus Bernardus, and Altmann. I have already alluded to the oldest of these works (A.D. 333), the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, or *Hierosolymitanum*,[1] in connection with the condition

[1] Ed. G. Parthey et M. Pinder, in *Itinerar. Antonini Augusti et Hierosol.* 1848.

of the country at the most flourishing epoch of the Byzantine power, whose architectural triumphs and energy in establishing Christian foundations it commemorates. I have also referred to the—

Itinerarium Beati Antonini Martyris,[1] written about A.D. 600, shortly before the invasion of the Mohammedans and the sad extinction of the Christian power in Palestine. About A.D. 700, Adamnus (*ex* Arculfo),. *de Locis Sanctis*, libri iii.[2] Arculfus, a French bishop, after his return from the Holy Land, was driven by a storm to the west coast of Scotland, and landed on the island of Iona, where lived Adamnus, the abbot of the celebrated convent, and the head of the oldest theological school of northern Europe. He wrote down the account of the shipwrecked wanderer, and in the year 698 presented it to King Alfred of Northumberland. Beda Venerabilis (the venerable Bede) has only given one extract from that narrative in his *Historia ecclesiastica*. Arculfus' work displays the condition of Palestine at the close of the seventh century, at the very rise of the Mohammedan sway, and is therefore of great interest.

A.D. 722. *St Willibaldi Vita, seu Hodoeporicum*,[3] including the story of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, is a work of value. The author was an assistant of Boniface in circulating the gospel through central Germany and the valley of the Danube, and in 742 he was made bishop of Aichstadt.

A.D. 870. Bernardi Monachi Sapientis *Itinerarium ad Loca Sancta*.[4] In the tenth century no travels to the Holy Land were written, so far as we now know. Bernard found at the time of his visit the Convent of John the Baptist, together with many others not specified by name, on the Jordan near Jericho. The region could not have been the unredeemed desert, therefore, that it now is.

[1] *Itinerarium B. Antonini ex Museo Menardi Julimagi Andium* (*Angers*), ap. Petr. Auri typogr. 1640; also in Ugolini, *Thes.* vii. under the title *Itinerar. Antonini Placentini*, fol. mccviii.–mccxxix.

[2] Gretesero, Ingolstadii, 1619, in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti*, sæc. iii. P. ii. p. 499, etc.

[3] Mabillon, *Acta Sctor.* P. ii. p. 365; and *Acta Sanctor.* ed. Bollandi, Juli, T. ii. fol. 485.

[4] Mabill. ib. ii. p. 523, and more in detail in *Recueil de Voy. et Memoires de la Soc. de geogr.* Paris, tom. iv. pp. 285-815.

In A.D. 1065, Altmann, bishop of Passau, and afterwards founder of the Abbey of Consecration, on the Danube, west of Vienna, journeyed to Palestine[1] under the guidance of Gunther, bishop of Bamberg, with several thousand laymen and some representatives of the clergy. The pilgrimage was not unattended with perils, and many of the company perished. This occurred shortly before the outbreak of the Crusades (1096); and the extracts relating to this journey, scattered through several authors, and found in the *Acta Sanctorum*, throw much light upon the confused condition of affairs in Palestine during the oppressive sway of the Seljukian Turks.[2] Altmann died in 1090.

V. THE PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES

Brings us to a more thorough acquaintance with the Holy Land. The accounts written before that epoch are comparatively meagre, consisting oftentimes of little else than details of distances and the names of halting-places. But the Christian rule over Syria, extending from 1099 to 1291—the control of Christian kings over Cyprus and Crete to a much later period, in the former till 1486—the commercial efforts of the Genoese and Venetians—the possession of Rhodes from 1310 to 1522, and later still of Malta by the Knights of the order of St John, the arch-enemies of the Turks,—tended to make Palestine more and more accessible, and to open it to the knowledge of Europe. The historical authorities of that period, collected in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, are a rich storehouse of material illustrative of the geography of the Holy Land. To the period of which I now speak belong William of Tyre, Jacob of Vitri, Fulcher of Chartres, Marin Sanudo of Venice, Saewulf the Anglo-Saxon, and others.

A.D. 1096–1124. Fulcheri Carnotensis[3] *Gesta peregrinantium Francorum cum armis Hierusalem pergentium.* Fulcher, a monk of Chartres, accompanied Duke Robert of Normandy

[1] De B. Altmann, *Ep. Pataviensi apud Gottwicenses in Austria*, in *Act. Sctor.* ed. Bollandist. Augusti, T. ii. pp. 356–376; Buchinger, *Geschich. des Fürstenthums Passau*, 1816, pp. 129–137.

[2] Fr. Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreutzzüge*, Pt. i. pp. 39-41.

[3] In *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. Bongars, Hanov. fol. 1611, pp. 381-440.

in the first Crusade. His account extends as late as to the year 1124, and contains valuable material relating not only to Syria and Palestine, but to the northern portion of Arabia Petræa.

A.D. 1102–1103. Saewulfi[1] *Relatio de peregrinatione ad Hierosolymam et terram sanctam;* a writer, otherwise unknown, who seems, according to D'Avezac's researches, to have been an Anglo-Saxon, and whose name Saewulfus may mean Wolf of the Sea Rovers. He finds three hundred monks living in the Convent of St Saba near the Dead Sea, and three monasteries on Mount Tabor.

A.D. 1175. Gerhardi *Frederici I. in Ægyptum et Syriam ad Saladinum Legati Itinerarium.*[2] The short but admirable statement of the route taken by the close observer, Gerhard, Vicedominus Argentinensis, which differed from the routes usually taken by pilgrims, passing as it did from Egypt to Sinai, Bostra, Damascus, Sidon, Jerusalem, Askelon, and to Egypt again, is incorporated in the tenth chapter of the seventh book of the *Chronica Slavorum.*

A.D. 1182–1185. Willermi Tyrensis *Historia Rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum,* libri xxiii. William, the most learned and the most eminent of the men who wrote the history of the Crusades, was elevated in 1174 to the bishopric of Tyre. He has left us a graphic picture, full of truth and merit, of the geographical character of the country as it presented itself to him: he seems to have himself been a Syrian. Cotemporaneous with him is the work of a Cretan pilgrim, Phocas by name, who long lived the life of a recluse on the island of Patmos. His treatise, bearing date 1185, and called *Joannes Phocas de Locis Sanctis* (*Acta Sanctor. Maji.* tom. ii. 1), is worthy of examination, as a production entirely independent of the accounts given by the crusaders. It contains, moreover, very good notices of the sacred localities.

A.D. 1220. Jacobi de Vitriaco, Acconiensis Episcopi,

[1] In *Recueil de Voy. et de Memoires publ. p. la Société de geographie*, Paris 1839, T. iv.; *Relation des Voy. de Saewulf*, p. Fr. Michel, Th. Wright, et D'Avezac, pp. 817–854.

[2] *Chronica Helmoldi Presbyteri et Arnoldi Abbatis Lubecenses*, ed. H. Bangertus, Lubecæ 1659, lib. vii. c. 10, pp. 516–525.

[3] *Gesta Dei per Francos, l.c.* i. fol. 629–1046.

Historia Hierosolimitana. Capitula centum.[1] Jacob of Vitri, born in the neighbourhood of Paris, took part in the Crusades, became bishop of Akka (Acre), and ranks after William of Tyre as one of the most eminent authors of his time. He describes with a very free pen the scene where the wars of the Crusades were then transpiring, and gives the first physical picture of the country which we possess, grounded upon actual observation. His description of the natural history and characteristic geographical features is therefore not without value. See Capit. 82–91.

A.D. 1306–1321. Marin Sanudo, named Torsellus, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis de Terræ Sanctæ recuperatione et conservatione*, libri iii.[2] The worthy Venetian, Marin Sanudo, after the loss of Jerusalem, spent the greater part of his life in making efforts to assist the regaining of the sacred soil by means of a Christian army. From his youth up, he tells us, he had cast his eyes towards the Terra Sancta. Five times he traversed the Levant in person, and collected all the knowledge that was attainable regarding the lands of the Saracens. With Venetian ships he examined the whole coast of Palestine, in order to discover what point would be most available for a fleet to be sheltered, and for any army to land successfully. In 1306 he began to record the results of his observations; in 1321 he finished it, and laid it, in connection with the four maps which accompanied it—one of the Orbis terrarum, one of the Terra Sancta, one of the Mare Syrium, and a plan of Acca—before Pope John XXII. and the most prominent of the kings of Europe, hoping thereby to raise them to a new effort to recover the Holy Land. To no purpose indeed: but his work remains as an interesting monument of the condition of biblical geography at that time, and the most complete monograph which the middle ages have given us on any such theme as that; very incomplete, it is true, and in the third part only a compilation, but as a first effort, not without merit.

A.D. 1307. Haithoni Armeni *Historia orientalis.*[3] Other

[1] *Gesta Dei per Francos*, l.c. i. fol. 1051–1149. See Mensel, *Bibl. hist.* vol. ii. P. ii. pp. 279–282.

[2] In *Gesta Dei per Francos.* See *Orientalis Historiæ*, tom. ii. Hanov. 1611, fol. 1–281.

[3] Ed. 1671, quarto.

men of that time, too, filled with similar projects for awakening again the spirit which had led to the first Crusade, did much towards circulating facts regarding the Holy Land. Among them may be mentioned the well-known Armenian Christian Prince Haithon, who had entered a convent at Cyprus, and who, at the request of Pope Clement V., went to France in 1307, to seek co-operation in another expedition to recover the Holy Sepulchre. Yet, of all the accounts which have come from men of this kind, Sanudo's is altogether the most valuable. But all these narratives were held in high consideration in Europe, and they did very much to make the people familiar with the character of the Bible lands. These narratives were read with great avidity, and they were often appended to works of a very different nature; from their own law books,[1] for example.

1283. Brocardi (Borcardi, Burchardi) *Locorum Terræ Sanctæ exactissima Descriptio.*[2] This work was translated into German.[3] Robinson, who has carefully examined the many editions of this work, remarks that it appears to have been a labour of love, written in a convent by one who had returned from the Holy Land, so often was it copied and annotated by the hands of monks, and so much resemblance is there in all the various transcripts. And the work, as Busching justly said, was worthy of all this favour: for it gave not merely accurate names of places and tables of distance, correct pictures of the country and people; but it portrayed with fidelity the natural productions of the land, though without giving their names. Its special value, however, is to be ascribed to its chronological statements; for, as Deycks correctly remarks, his account, coming at a time when the Christian jurisdiction over Palestine had ceased, opened up the whole political status of the country to view. The difficulties, chronological and biographical, encountered in this author have been critically examined by Beckmann.[4] The work of Brocardus has been

[1] Anthon. Matthæi, *Analecta veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 25, etc.

[2] Venet. 1519; in Simon Gryneus, *Nov. Orbis*, Basil 1532, fol. 298-329.

[3] In the *Reyssbuch des heil. Landes*, Frankfort 1548, Pt. i. p. 464, ed. of 1609, fol. pp. 854–875; comp. Robinson, *Bib. Researches*, ii. 538.

[4] John Beckmann, *Literatur der ältern Reisebeschreibungen*, vol. ii. p. 1, Göttingen 1809, No. 60, pp. 31-78.

frequently abridged; the most successful effort to do so is that accomplished in the sixteenth century by Adrichomius.[1]

Of the treatises on the history of the Crusades, the celebrated work of Michaud[2] has contributed but little to the geography of the subject; Reinaud's supplementary volumes are far more valuable; and Wilken's and von Hammer's master works on this subject are truly admirable.

VI. VISITS TO PALESTINE DURING THE FIRST CENTURIES AFTER THE CRUSADES.

After the Holy Land had passed into the hands of the Saracens, the interest felt in it did not die out in the West; it extended itself rather to the outlying and now opened districts farther east. We learn from the records of pilgrimages undertaken in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that a change had begun: the journeys to the Orient had begun to lose their exclusively religious character, and to be in a measure secularized. They extended in some instances as far east as to India, and were undertaken sometimes in a spirit of mere romantic adventure.

1356. Johannes de Montevilla. At the head of all the works which come under this division, is that volume of Travels which was written by Sir John Maundeville, composed in English or French[3] at Liege,[4] in the year 1356, and giving an account of his thirty years' wanderings in the Orient. The work was soon translated into Latin, and into many of the European languages, enlarged by the engrafting of many idle tales from other hands, and adopted by popular consent as one of the most delightful books of the age, containing, in addition to its geographical statements about the Holy Land, a whole compendium of *mirabilia mundi*. His romantic and poetical turn

[1] Christ. Adrichomius, *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ Coloniæ*, 1590.

[2] Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, 5 vols. under his name, but elaborated by Reinaud; *Bibliographie des Croisades*, 2 vols.; Fr. Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreutzzüge*, 1807.

[3] J. O. Halliwell, *The Voyage and Travaille of Sir John Maundeville*, Lond. 1839, in *Reissbuch des heil. Landes*, 1609, i. fol. 759–812.

[4] Dr E. Schönborn, *Bibliographische Untersuchungen über J. Maundeville*, Breslau 1840, p. 22; Rob. *Bib. Researches*, i. p. xxiii.; J. Gorres, *Teutsche Volksbücher*, p. 62.

of mind has not injured the value of those portions which give simple facts, as Robinson found after carefully following in his footsteps. Halliwell and Schönborn, too, have shown that a great many passages in Maundeville which were supposed to be untrustworthy, are additions which have been grafted upon the original work. Yet with all this, and notwithstanding the closeness of his observation, he was too much possessed with the taste of his age for the marvellous, to be always best pleased with the simple truth. He gave a book to Europe which had just the qualities which the public mind demanded, and he found therefore a large and an admiring public. Yet it cannot be denied that the chapters which relate to Palestine (vi.–xi.) are instructive.

A.D. 1336–1341 and 1350. Ludolphi de Suchen *Libellus de Itinere ad Terram Sanctam.*[1] This work is declared by Robinson to be the most truthful of all the itineraries which have come down from the fourteenth century, notwithstanding its touch of the marvellous. The many manuscript and printed copies of Ludolph's work (not Rudolph), with names and dates, have made it difficult to arrive at the simple facts of the life of this excellent Westphalian pilgrim, the most celebrated—as his editor, a fellow-countryman, has said[2]—of all the seventeen Germans who, in those earlier days, ventured to encounter the difficulties which lay in the road to Palestine. As mentioned above, his name was not Rudolph; and his absence did not extend from 1336 to 1350, as even Panzer supposed, but he made two separate journeys: the first in 1336, and extending over five years; the next in 1350. This he himself states in his dedication to Baldwin of Steinfurt, bishop of Paderborn, the diocese to which his own parish church of Suchen belonged. He compares many objects which he saw in the East with those around his own home: Mount Tabor, for instance, with his own Isenberge; the Lebanon forests with Osning wood:[3] he finds

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Researches*, ii. 540; Latin ed. Venet. without date; the oldest German edition, *Von dem gelobten Lande und Weg gegen Jerusalem*, 1477. See Panzer, *Annal.* 1788, No. 82, p. 100.

[2] Dr Ferdin. Deycks, *Ueber ältere Pilgerfahrten nach Jerusalem, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Ludolph von Suchen Reisebuch des heiligen Landes*, Münster 1848, p. 9, etc.

[3] De Suchen, in *Libell.* c. 118.

rivers which remind him of the Rhine, and buildings which suggest the cathedral of Cologne; the Turks he compares with the Frisians. He wrote his work originally in Latin, assuming the title of *parochialis ecclesiæ in Suchen rector.* In his book he makes the open declaration, that he had not seen all that he describes, but had drawn much from historical sources: yet what he saw for himself is a sufficient testimony of his assiduous patience and unwearied pains to get at the truth.[1] The various editions in German dialects[2] have called out a great deal of scholarly effort among philologists; and the contents of his work have proved a rich mine of geographical knowledge, particularly in that department which relates to the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean.

A.D. 1336. Gulielmi de Baldensel *Hodoeporicon ad Terram Sanctam.* A German of Lower Saxony. His name is more correctly written Boldensleve or Alvensleben. According to Beckmann,[3] his pilgrimage was contemporaneous with that of his countryman Ludolph. His account is not without value, but less instructive than that one to which I have just alluded.

There follows a long list of records of travel to the Holy Land, whose worth is not such as to make it necessary to refer to them in detail. They are the productions of men of great diversities of gifts, as well as of social standing. Some of them have been incorporated in the *Reissbuch des heiligen Landes;* some in other collections, those of Ramusio, Hackluyt, Ugolinus, Bergeron, Paulus, etc.; some have appeared separately. Among the latter may be included that of Frescobaldi, 1384, which Robinson has omitted in his list. They mostly repeat the statements of travellers who had preceded them; and for geographical purposes they have no special value, although from a literary and antiquarian point of view they are not without interest. It is possible that one of these, which has never been traced—the narrative of a certain Roberto, who visited the Holy Land in 1458—would have been more valuable; but although Count Giulio Porro states expressly that it is deposited

[1] *Reissbuch des heil. Landes*, 1609, i. fol. 813–854, falsely called Rudolph.

[2] In Deycks, p. 28, etc. to 61.

[3] Respecting him, see J. Beckmann, *Literatur der ältern Reisebeschr.* ii. 2, pp. 226–237.

at Milan, it has been sought for in vain. Its title was, *Itineraria facta per lo Magnifico Cavaliere Signor Duo Roberto de San Saverio, Capitano da Jerusalem a Sancta Katerina del* A. 1458. It was only at the close of the fifteenth century that we have accounts of really great excellence, such as those of Tucher 1479-80, Breydenbach 1483-84, and Fabri of the same date, whose records I have already had occasion to refer to in the description of the Sinai Peninsula. They have the same value for Palestine as for Arabia Petræa. To the list already cited I must add, with special commendation, the account of Felix Fabri of Ulm, which Robinson considers preferable in point of exactness to the well-known work of Bernard de Breydenbach, Dean of the Mayence Cathedral. A new edition of Fabri's narrative was published in Stuttgard in 1843 by the Literary Association of that place. The work in its new form was enriched by the laborious care of Professor Hasler[1] of Ulm, who also read an admirable paper on Fabri and his work, at a meeting of German philologists held at Dresden in October 1844.

VII. VISITS TO PALESTINE IN THE SIXTEENTH, SEVENTEENTH, AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

Subsequently to the epoch in which the works hitherto alluded to fall, there came a change in the character[2] of visits made to Palestine.[3] They not only lost a portion of that pious simplicity which had marked them, and that belief in the expiatory value of the pilgrimage to those shores; but they began to be affected by the altered political relations of the Eastern Powers, and especially by the possession of Constantinople by the Turks, and the gradual encroachment of the Ottoman Empire upon European soil. Necessity and curiosity both prompted men to see what were the manners and institutions of this new and formidable race, and what the condition and character of the country

[1] Fratris Felicis Fabri, *Eraqatorium in Terræ Sanctæ, Arabiæ et Egypti Peregrinationem*, edidit Cunradus Dietericus Hasler, Gymnasii Regii Ulmani Professor, vol. i. ii., in *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, 1843, vol. ii. pp. 1-480, and iii. 1-545.

[2] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 541; F. Deycks, p. 25.

[3] The English reader will find the characteristics of the various epochs of travel to the Holy Land graphically summed up in the opening pages of Pressensé's *Land of the Gospel.*—ED.

where they held sovereign power. This induced great numbers of knights, lords, and princes to make pilgrimages to the East; and their accounts—those, for instance, of the Count Palatine; the Count of Nassau, 1495; the Duke of Pomerania, 1496; the Prince Radziwill, 1583; and Baron Graeben, 1675—accumulated in number, yet without a proportionate increase in value, owing to the complete ignorance of their authors about what had been seen and reported by preceding travellers. The period of the Reformation seems to have given a spur to pilgrimages to the Holy Land among those who remained faithful to the Catholic Church. The complete ascendancy of the Venetian marine, and the extensive commerce of Venice with the East, contributed to the ease and the security with which travellers could penetrate the Orient; and we find, accordingly, that there were many who, actuated by curiosity, sailed from Venice direct for places as remote as India and Persia even. The travels of men of an adventurous turn of mind do not seem to have been restricted to the Levant, to the well-known and often-traversed scenes of Bible story; but in a larger scientific spirit than had as yet been applied to Palestine and Egypt, they ventured to explore a much wider field. We find Italians, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and especially Germans, making extensive travels during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the East, in the course of which they usually touched Syria and Palestine, without paying any special attention to those more familiar lands. Among these I may mention the names of Pierre Belon, 1546–49; L. Rauwolf, 1573–76; Della Valle, 1614; Olearius, 1635; Thevenot, 1652; Tavernier, 1665; Chardin, 1664; and Tournefort, 1700. This brings us down to the time when Pococke, Hasselquist, and Niebuhr opened a new era in the geography of the Holy Land. Among those worthy of particular enumeration are the following, which I cite to the exclusion of many whose contents are meagre, and whose value is to be appreciated by the bibliographer solely.

1507–1508. Martini a Baumgarten *Peregrinatio;* according to Robinson, a collection of brief papers from the hand of a competent observer.

1546–49. Pierre Belon du Mans, *Observations de plusieurs singularités et choses memorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, etc.*, en trois livres, Paris 1554, 4to. In this work (livr. ii. ch.

lxxiii.-cxii. fol. 135–151) are to be found a good topographical description of Palestine, and a trustworthy account of its natural history. P. Belon, a French physician, is well known as a learned and close observer.

Bonifacii a Ragusio *Liber de perenni cultu Terræ Sanctæ*, Venetiis 1573, 8vo. The work of the Franciscan monk, now only known by Quaresmius'[1] quotations, is mentioned by Robinson, who failed to find any traces of it. Quaresmius says of its author, "Vir insignis Apostolicus Prædicator, post Stagni Episcopus, qui per novem annos Guardianus officio in sancta civitate Jerusalem magna cum laude functus est," etc. Tobler has also sought in vain for this work, in order to use it in his own zealous and exhaustive studies on Palestine; and I have searched for it in the Library of St Mark in Venice, in the Imperial Library of Vienna, and in that of Wolfenbuttel, which is so rich in Italian works. Its great rarity seems to have precluded any further use of it than that made by Quaresmius, who speaks of its great value. It is suggested, therefore, as a fit object of future search.

1573–76. Leonharti Rauwolfen, der Artzney Doctorn und bestellten Medici zu Augsburg, *Aigentliche Beschreibung der Raiss, so er von dieser Zeit gegen Auffgang in die Morgenländer, etc., selbs volbracht*, 3 Parts, Augsburg 1582, 4to.[2] The conclusion of the second part, chap. xii. fol. 273, and the whole of the third part of this excellent work, is to be specially recommended. Rauwolf's investigations into the natural history of Palestine, and especially his botany, have placed him very high; and he well prepared the way for the later efforts of Tournefort and Hasselquist. Many who have followed him have drawn largely from him. Breuning's[3] work is an example. I pass over the enumeration of his copyists.

1616–1625. Francisci Quaresmii, *Historica theologica et moralis Terræ Sanctæ elucidatio*, 2 tom. fol. Antwerp 1639.[4] This work is of less value in attaining a knowledge of the

[1] Fr. Quaresmius, *Terræ Sanctæ elucidatio, etc.*, Antwerpiæ 1639, tom. i.; Præf. p. xxxv. See Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 542.

[2] J. Beckmann, *Literatur der ältern Reisebeschreibungen*, Pt. i. 1, pp. 1–21.

[3] J. Beckmann, *i.a.l.* ii. pp. 269–288.

[4] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 544; K. v. Raumer, *Pal.* p. 8; J. Beckmann, *i.a.l.* i. p. 232.

country than of the history of the Catholic Church there; and although very circumstantial and diffuse, yet not to be taken as a work of sufficient importance to be the standard of comparison for other works of similar ecclesiastical scope, such as those of Zuallart, 1586; Dandini, 1596; Cotovicus,[1] 1598; and Doubdan, 1651. Of these I need not speak in detail, and will only say that that of Doubdan,[2] canon of St Denys, although overpraised by Chateaubriand, is a work of great learning; and that by Dandini, a Papal legate to the Maronites,[3] is valuable in the portions which relate to the Lebanon. Zuallart has interesting original drawings, charts, and maps, which have not seldom been closely copied by his successors, Cotovic among them: even in the single Spanish itinerary of any importance—that of Castello, 1656, published at Madrid—Zuallart's drawings are reproduced.

1614-26. Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi, etc.* Sufficiently well known as a highly esteemed oriental traveller, whose researches in Egypt, Persia, and India have been praised even by Goethe, but whose account of Palestine is confined to a single letter written in 1616.[4] Robinson speaks of him as light and superficial; von Raumer as soundly catholic in his faith, and yet frivolous. I have already made use of his valuable data in treating of the Sinai Peninsula. In respect of learning, literary excellence, and artistic character, his merits are not small. He brought to Europe the first copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch which was known there—the one now in the possession of the Imperial Library of Paris.

1646-47. Balth. de Monconys, *Journal des Voy.*, Paris 1695; sec. *Partie en Syrie, etc.* In this instructive work, the eminent author, well known as a mathematician and a physicist, describes his journey through Palestine.

[1] *Il devotissimo Viaggio da Gerusalemme fatto e descritto*, in sei Libri dal Sign. Giovanni Zuallardo, Cavaliero del Santissimo Sepolcro l'anno 1586, Roma 1587, iv.; *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum*, auctore Joanne Cotovico, Antwerpiæ 1619, iv.

[2] J. Doubdan, *Voyage de la Terre Sainte*, Paris 1657.

[3] Jerome Dandini, *Voyage du Mont Liban*, trad. de l'Italien, Paris 1675. See Beckmann, *i.a.l.* ii. 2, pp. 355-368.

[4] P. della Valle, German ed. Geneva 1674, Pt. i. fol. 132-174; original ed. *Viaggi*, Roma 1650-1653, 4 vols.

1655–59. Jean Thevenot,[1] *Relation d'un Voyage fait au Levant*, Paris 1665, containing an admirable account of the author's stay in Palestine and Syria. The works of D'Arvieux, 1658, and la Roque, 1688, relate—the valuable portions on the Lebanon excepted—rather to the Arabs and to the political condition of the Levant. I must except the journey of the first through Palestine,[2] which, however, embraces only twenty-seven chapters in the second book of his collected works. The *Travels* of C. le Brun, 1672, are very valuable on account of the drawings which the author, a Flemish artist, had an opportunity of executing in the East. Their contents in other respects are not of equal worth. Nor are the accounts of Nau, Surius, 1644, and others, deserving of special consideration.

1697. Henry Maundrell, *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, Oxford 1703; the sixth edition, enlarged and enriched, with appendices, Oxford 1740. Robinson says of him: "Maundrell was chaplain of the English factory at Aleppo. His book is the brief report of a shrewd and keen observer, and still remains perhaps the best work on those parts of the country through which he travelled. His visit to Jerusalem was a hasty one." Von Raumer says of his book that it is very instructive, calm, and trustworthy. The unpretending author had the intention of merely giving his countrymen a supplement to the travels of his predecessor Sandys,[3] 1610–11, who enjoyed the entire confidence of his countrymen in consequence of his great accuracy. The friends of Maundrell caused his work to be published at Oxford.

1697–98. A. Morison, *Relation historique d'un Voyage au Mont Sinai et à Jerusalem*, Toul. 1704. A cotemporary of the preceding, who, although not to be placed as his equal, gave us many valuable facts in our study of the Sinai Peninsula. The work of Robert Clayton, bishop of Clogher,[4] is not to be passed

[1] Thevenot (*i.e.* Jean, nephew of Melechisedek Thevenot), *Reisebeschreibung in Europa, Asia, und Afrika, etc.*, Frankf. 1693, iv.; after his *Relation d'un Voyage et Suite*, Paris 1674, iv.

[2] Laur. D'Arvieux, *Voy. dans la Palestine, etc.*, pub. par la Roque, Paris 1717; see the Ger. translation, Kopen. and Leipsig 1753, Pt. ii. 1–426, from his *Memoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux*, Paris 1753, 6 vols.

[3] George Sandys, *Travailes, etc.*, Lond. 1615.

[4] Robert, Lord Bishop of Clogher, *Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount*

without mention, although it confines itself exclusively to Arabia Petræa. The learned Paul Lucas, who made a hasty run through Palestine in 1714, has also left a record of his journey.[1]

1722. Thomas Shaw, *Travels in Barbary and in the Levant.* This work, which was originally in the form of special treatises, is of especial value in connection with the antiquities, as well as the physical character of Syria, Phœnicia, and the Holy Land, and forms an admirable supplement to the work of Maundrell.

1700–23. Van Egmond en Heyman, *Reizen*, Leyden 1757; English translation: *Travels*, London 1759, 2 vols. Egmond was the Dutch ambassador at Naples; John Heyman was a professor of oriental languages in Leyden. They united their accounts, and produced in their conjoint work one of the best treatises on Palestine ever written.

1737–40. Richard Pococke,[2] *Travels in the East*, Lond. 3 vols. fol. Only the second part of this work relates to Syria and Palestine. Michaelis, and after him Rosenmüller and Robinson,[3] have charged it as a fault in this thorough classical scholar, that he was not as well versed in Hebrew as he should have been; and they have with justice complained of the mixing up of what he personally saw with what he knew merely by report, or extracted from preceding authors. This is the more reprehensible in one who must have known how carefully Herodotus shunned that confusion which has so much marred Pococke's work, and brought it into bad repute. Yet there is considerable value, notwithstanding, in those parts of his book which are palpably the result of his own observation.

1749–53. Fridr. Hasselquist, *Reisen nach Palästina*, edited by Linnæus, Rostock 1762. As the work of a naturalist and a disciple of Linnæus, this book is valuable, particularly for the light which it throws on the plants and the animals of Palestine.

Sinai, translated from a manuscript by the Prefetto of Egypt, etc., Lond. 1753.

[1] Paul Lucas, *Voyage fait en* 1714, *dans la Turquie l'Asie, Syrie, Palestine, etc.*, Amsterdam 1720–8, tom. i. liv. iii. pp. 200–273.

[2] Rich. Pococke, *Travels in the East*, Lond. 1743–1748, 3 vols. fol.

[3] J. D. Michaelis, *Oriental. Bibl.* Pt. viii. p. 111; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alter.* vol. i. p. 85; Robinson, *Bib. Research.* i. p. 37.

The editor appended a supplement on the natural history of Palestine, which Robinson is inclined to think the most complete scientific treatise on the subject which has ever appeared. With the help of Hasselquist, who completed what Rauwolf[1] and Tournefort began, and with A. Russell's[2] carefully prepared list of the oriental names applied to the *flora* of the East, augmented by the later researches of Olivier, the identity of the native appellations and the modern scientific terms can be established, so far as is necessary in the study of the geography of the country. The *Flora Palæstina*[3] may be also consulted, and the later works of von Schubert.

1754–55. Stephen Schultz, *Leitungen des Höchsten durch Europa, Asia, Africa*, Halle 1771–75. This author belongs to the small class of pilgrim devotees who have sprung from the Protestant ranks, in contradistinction to the many earlier Catholics who wandered to the mysterious East. Most of the Protestant travellers who explored Palestine with any care during the time now under review, were actuated by scientific and scholarly considerations, more than by religious impulse. It is only in the most modern period that religion and science have combined, as with Laborde, Robinson, von Schubert, and others, to prompt to an exploration of the scenes of biblical history.

1760–68. Abbé Mariti, *Voyages dans l'Isle de Chypre, la Syrie, et la Palestine*, Paris 1791, T. i. and ii. This work contains, with many repetitions of what had been told before, particularly in relation to the island of Cyprus, some useful data regarding Palestine.

1761–67. Carsten Niebuhr's[4] *Travels in Arabia* have often been drawn from in the preceding volume. This work on Palestine appeared about a half century subsequently to the

[1] *Vergleichung der Rauwolfschen Pflanzennamen mit denen in Linnæ Hist. gen. plant. in Beckman Lit. der ältern Reisebeschr.* Pt. i. pp. 13–15.

[2] A. Russell, *Natural History of Aleppo*, by P. Russell, trans. into Ger. by Gmelin, Göttingen 1797, Pt. i. sec. 3, pp. 83–117.

[3] D. Benedicti Joh. Strand, Sudermanni, *Flora Palæstina*, in Giov. Mariti, *Viaggio da Gerusalemme par le coste della Syria*, ed. Livorno 1787, tom. ii. pp. 191–240.

[4] C. Niebuhr's *Reisen durch Syrien und Palästina nach Cypern.* This includes Niebuhr's astronomical observations and minor papers. Hamburgh 1837.

works which I have hitherto cited, and has been skilfully edited by Gloyer and Olshausen. What Robinson says of Niebuhr is perfectly true: "He is the prince of eastern travellers; exact, judicious, and persevering." He gives the details of his journey through Syria and Palestine, with a series of plans of the cities of the country, not all of them new to us, not all of them correct now, owing to the changes of time; and yet his work, with all its defects, is far more valuable than the hasty productions of many modern tourists.

1783–86. Volney,[1] *Voyage en Syrie*, Paris 1787, 2 vols. This work is universally known for the fidelity, the appreciative illustration with which it points the moral, political, and religious condition of the people whom he visited. It is in the form rather of a series of treatises than of a journal of travel, or a detailed description of local geographical features; and in this it differs from the most of its predecessors. The high position where he stood to survey the East, and the consequent breadth of his view, made his work deeply instructive, and enabled him to present the mutual relation of nature and history there in a striking light. His great modesty caused him to keep himself very much in the background, and his work consequently lacks those details regarding his personal route, whose absence is always regretted by the careful reader.

1792–98. W. G. Browne,[2] *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria*, London 1799. This work, admirable as it is, yet contains only a few brief chapters relative to the author's journey through Palestine.

Alexander Russell's *Natural History of Aleppo*, a true classic on Syria, and valuable in its Palestine portion also, was edited by Patrick Russell, and translated into German by Gmelin of Göttingen. It closes the works of the eighteenth century relating to this subject in a worthy manner.

[1] E. F. Volney's *Reise nach Syrien und Ægypten in* 1783–1785, Ger. ed. Jena 1788.

[2] W. G. Browne's *Reisen in Afrika, Ægypten, und Syrien*, 1792–98, Berlin 1801.

VIII. CONTRIBUTIONS OF OTHER ORIENTAL WRITERS, PARTICULARLY ARABIAN AND JEWISH, TO THE GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE. BRIEF COMPENDIA ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

Before we pass to the consideration of the Christian writers of Europe who have made Palestine the object of their investigations during the present century, it is necessary to refer briefly to a certain class of works, which, although not referring directly to the results of personal investigation, are yet valuable, as digests of what had been observed by others, and as studies preparatory to the prosecution of personal inquiry. In many cases I need mention them merely by name. They comprise such authors as Mohammed el Fergani,[1] the astronomer, who wrote A.D. 833; Isstachri, his contemporary; Ebn Haukal and Masudi, dating from the tenth century; Edrisi and Abdallatif, middle of the twelfth; Boahedin[2] and his learned editor, end of the twelfth century; Gakuti, middle of the thirteenth; Ebn Batuta, 1324; Ibn el Wardi at the beginning, and Abulfeda at the middle, of the fourteenth century; and Macrizi[3] in the first half of the fifteenth century. These writers have all of them furnished more or less valuable geographical details; but the most complete in that respect is the Syrian prince of Hamath,[4] in the Lebanon. Mejr ed-Din's *History of Jerusalem*, translated from the Arabic into French by the accomplished J. von Hammer, and published in the *Fundgruben des Orients*, vol. ii. pp. 81, 118, 375, is praised by Robinson as the most complete description of the Holy City ever written in the Arabic language.

[1] Muhamedis Alfergani, *Elementa Astronomica, arabice et latine cum notis, etc.*, Opera Jacobi Golii, Amstelodami 1669.

[2] Bahaddini *Vita Saladini*, ed. Alb. Schultens, *ejusdem Index Geographicus*, Lugdini Batavor. 1732.

[3] In Taki Eddin Ahmed Makrizi, *Histoire des Sultans Mamelouks de l'Egypte*, trad. de l'Arabe par Quatremère, Paris 1837, iv., contains very important contributions to the knowledge of Palestine.

[4] Abulfedæ *Tabula Syriæ*, ed. B. Koehler, etc. Lips. 1765; cum excerpto geographico ex Ibn el Wardii *Geographia et Historia naturali*. See also Rosenmüller, *Handb. d. Alterthumsk.* i. pp. 41–58; above all, see Reinaud, in *Geographia d'Aboulfeda*, textus 1840, et traduct. Paris 1848, tom. i. Introd.

New works upon Palestine, from the hands of Arabian and oriental writers, either do not exist at all, or are of very little importance. The second improved edition of Abulfeda's *Tabula Syriæ*, which was to have appeared at Oxford under the editorial care of Koehler, has not appeared. Koehler's own work, the manuscript of which remained in the library of Lubec, his birth-place, contains, according to Hartmann,[1] very little useful material. Reinaud's translation of Abulfeda, enriched with notes, and with the text, as given by H. Slane, 1840, Paris, is far more valuable. It is to be regretted, that as yet we have no translation of the Turkish geography contained in the *Jihannuma* of Hadji Chalfa, a monk, which must be included among the most valuable that relate to the East; yet we have to express our obligations here to the illustrious orientalist, von Hammer,[2] for the admirable selections which he has made from this very inaccessible, very important, and yet universally neglected geographical authority.

In the earlier volumes of the *Erdkunde*, we have often had occasion to refer to the Spanish traveller, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela[3] (1162–1173), the most valuable of all the Jewish writers. I entirely agree with Robinson's judgment of the worth of this writer. Robinson says that A. Asher's edition is the best of all. It has been asserted that this book is full of inaccuracies and idle stories, and that the author never visited the scenes described by him. But the first-named fault is often met in writers of that period; and I have found in his treatise on Palestine,[4] that so far as he goes, he bases his statements on his personal observations, and is quite as exact and trustworthy[5] as any of his cotemporaries. A long way behind him is the work of Rabbi Petachia[6] of Ratisbon (1175–1180). Very much is to be expected of the learned and appreciative criticism of

[1] *Leipsig Lit. Zeit.* 1822, No. 235.

[2] *Wiener Jahrb.* 1836, vol. lxxiv. pp. 39–96.

[3] A. Asher, *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*—Text, Bibliography, and Translation, London and Berlin 1840, vol. i. pp. 58–89. Compare *Anmerkungen*, von *Tudela*.

[4] Robinson, *Bibl. Researches*, ii. 536.

[5] *Bullet. de la Soc. de Geogr.* Paris 1848, T. ix. p. 66.

[6] Rabbi Petachiæ *Peregrinatio, etc.*, Altorf 1687; *Hebrew and French*, by El Carmoly, Paris 1831. in *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.* 1831, T. viii. pp. 257–308, 353–413, an interpolated passage.

Selig Cassel on Rabbi Benjamin; and doubtless his efforts will contribute much to do away with the perplexing want of uniform excellence[1] in the matter and manner of the celebrated Hebrew authority.

The distinguished Jewish scholar, Dr Zunz, has lately made us acquainted with a work very highly praised by himself, the production of another Jewish author, Esthori Parchi of Provence, who, being banished from his native land by Philip le Bel in 1313, went to the East, travelled largely in Palestine, and after a long stay there, produced his valuable work, *Caphtor wa pherach*, 1332.[2] The visit of this author to Bisan (Scythopolis) and to Galilee is particularly interesting, and a translation would be desirable.

The *Itinera Mundi sic dicta Cosmographia*, autore Abraham Peritsol, a Jewish Rabbi of Avignon, edited by Thomas Hyde, Oxon. 1691, contains in various chapters only material of a very general character on the Terra Israel. A whole series of Jewish pilgrims to Palestine exists, including such names as Samuel ben Simson de France, 1210; Jakob de Paris, 1258; Ishak Chelo de Laresa, 1334; Elias de Ferrare, 1438; Gerson ben Moseh Ascher de Scarmela, 1561; Urie de Biel, 1564. These, with an index of their routes, and with an interesting map, prepared by J. Lellewel, are to be found in the very recent and erudite work of Carmoly:[3] for Jewish details, and for localities especially interesting to Jews, these works are valuable. I must not omit to mention the travels of the celebrated Jewish convert, Joseph Wolff,[4] made in 1823 and 1824.

With the assistance of that rare work, *Caphtor wa ferach*, Jacob Raplan of Minsk has prepared his *General Biblical Geography*, Erez. Kedumin 1839, of which a German edition,

[1] *Historische Versuche*, von Selig Cassel, Berlin 1847, pp. 1–24.

[2] Dr Zunz, *Nota* 62; *Essay on the Geog. Literature of the Jews*, in Asher's ed. of *Benjamin de Tudela*, vol. ii. pp. 260–262.

[3] E. Carmoly, *Itineraires de la Terre Sainte des* XIII. *a* XVII. *Siecle, traduits de l'Hebreu et accompagnes de Tables, de Cartes, et d'éclaircissemens*, Bruxelles 1847.

[4] Rev. Jos. Wolff, missionary to the Jews, *Missionary Journal*, vol. ii., comprising his second visit to Palestine and Syria, in 1823–4, London 1828.

in lexicon form, was announced as in preparation by Dr M. Freystadt of Konigsberg.

In 1845 there appeared from the pen of the distinguished German scholar, Rabbi Joseph Schwartz of Jerusalem, a work bearing the title, *Sefer Tebuot Haarez*, A. 5605, *i.e.* a new description of Palestine. This is a work based upon personal observation. It has been of some service to me; and yet, in the description of the country and its physical features, I have not found much that has not been long known. In learned illustrations this author does not lack at all. And I may say in general, that in most of the systematic treatises on the geography of Palestine, there is no lack of learning, both in the departments of biblical literature and oriental scholarship; but unfortunately there is a great deficiency in positive facts, which are gained by personal inquiry and observation. This method of treatment has led to very uncertain results, and to many statements which are purely hypothetical: these could only be corrected by the direct personal observation which characterizes the researches made in the present century. Among the works of untravelled scholars, may be mentioned the following:—

Samuelis Bocharti *Hierozoicon*, and his *Geographia Sacra seu Phaleg. et Canaan*, in *Opp.* Lugdun. Batavor. ed. 3, 1692, 3 vols. fol. first edit. 1646. The *editio* of the *Hierozoicon sive de Animalibus sacræ Script.* ed. Rosenmüller, Lips. 1793. At about the same time there appeared J. H. Ursini *Arboretum Biblicum*, Norimb. 1685; then Matth. Hilleri *Hierophyticon*, Trajecti ad Rhenum 1725, and Olavi Celsii *Hierobotanicon, sive de Plantis Sacræ Scripturæ*, Amstelod. 1748; Scheuchzeri *Physica Sacra, h. e. Historia naturalis Bibliæ*, Augsb. 1731, 4 vols. These writers preceded Hasselquist and Linnæus.

Johannes Lightfoot *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*; a chorographical century; searching out, chiefly by the light of the Talmud, some more memorable places in the land of Israel (*Works*, vol. x. 1825). *Opp. Omnia*, Roterdami 1686, fol. in vol. ii. 169–940.

Christ. Cellarius in *Notitiæ Orbis antiqui, etc.*, Lips. 1706, in Libri iii. cap. 13, pp. 464–470; on Palestine, particularly in connection with classic authors: the most learned work of its time.

Hadrian Relandi *Palæstina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata*, Trajecti Batavor. 1714, and ed. Norimberg 1716, the

first thorough basis of all the modern scientific works on the geography of the Holy Land. I may refer also to another work of the same distinguished scholar, Professor of Ancient Languages and Antiquities at Utrecht, *Dissert. de Mari Rubro, de Monte Gerizim, de Samaritanis, de Ophir, etc.*, in his *Dissertationes Miscellaneæ*, Pars i. et ii. Trajecti ad Rhenum 1706 and 1707. He was the first to make available the mass of materials collected by his countryman Olfert Dapper (Amsterdam 1681, folio), and other works which had been prepared by men who had never visited Palestine.

Edward Wells' *Historical Geography of the Old and New Testament*, Lond. 1712.

J. Chr. Harenberg, *Supplementum in Hadr. Relandi recensionem Urbium et Vicorum Palæstinæ*, in *Miscell. Lips.* vol. iv. v. and vi. This author also produced the first valuable map of Palestine, Nurenberg 1744 and 1750.

Joh. M. Hase, Professor of Mathematics in Wittenberg, *Regni Davidici et Salomonæi descriptio geographica et historica*, Norimb. 1739, fol. A work prepared with great care, both in the text and the maps.

Joh. Jac. Schmidt's *biblischer Geographus*, Züllichau 1740. The work of a German scholar; a better compend than the more comprehensive and eminent work which preceded it, from the pen of the Benedictine Abbot, Augustine Calmet, Paris 1730. This treatise does not seem to have been known to Schmidt, versed as he was in literature. Its title is *Dictionnaire Histor. Chronolog. Geographique, et Littéral de la Bible.*

W. A. Bachiene (mathematician and astronomer in Maestricht), *historische und geographische Beschreibung von Palæstina*, with twelve maps; intended to be a supplement to Reland, and a tedious work, Leipsig 1766, 8 vols.

Ysbrand van Hamelsveld, *Aardrigk-kunde des Bibelse*, translated into German, Hamburg 1793.

A. Fr. Büsching's *Erdbeschreibung*, Pt. ii. bbth. 1, 3d ed. 1792; *Palestine*, from pp. 374–510. The first author who incorporated the results of Niebuhr's observations in the East. His work, in accuracy, closeness, and the authenticity which results from the use of original documents, far surpasses all that had preceded it, and remains even to this day, and will remain, a master work in the department of geography.

Conr. Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, in Pt. vi. B. 1; *Arabia, Palestine, and Syria*, Nurnb. 1799.

J. J. Bellerman, *Biblische Geographie*, 3 Pt. 2d ed. Erfurt 1804. A manual of biblical literature, condensed, and prepared by a master of oriental languages.

C. F. Klöden, *Landeskunde von Palästina*, Berlin 1817. This admirable work, which displayed the mutual relations of history and geography in a more marked and excellent manner than even that of Volney had done, appeared after the impulse was felt which was occasioned by the discoveries of Niebuhr and Seetzen, for Burckhardt's were not published till 1822. Klöden's work was accompanied by a carefully prepared map (the first after Reland's), which was indebted for a part of its excellence to the skill of the French artist, Ch. Paultre. An essay on the *flora* and *fauna* of Palestine, written by Ruthe, and contained in the same work, is worthy of examination; it is only to be compared in point of value with the production of Hasselquist already referred to.

E. F. K. Rosenmüller, *Geographie von Palästina*, in the second volume of his *Handbuch der biblischen Alterthumskunde*, Leipsig 1826. This work is characterized more for the breadth of the ground which it covers, and the extent of the materials which it comprises, than for the originality and depth of its own researches.

F. G. Crome, *Geographische historische Beschreibung des Landes Syrien* (in its connection with Palestine), Göttingen 1834. A thorough work, based on Burckhardt and Buckingham: the topography of Jerusalem is treated with an exhaustive fulness.

Palästina,[1] by K. von Raumer, Professor in Erlangen, 2d ed. Leipsig 1838 (1st ed. 1835). As a manual for biblical students, this work is a classic. The compactness of its matter, the clear arrangement, the scientific method, the completeness of the references to the Old and New Testaments, place this work far in advance of all compends of its kind. The rapid progress of modern investigation leaves something to be desired in the present value of the work; but in high tone, delicacy of feeling, and fidelity, as well as in a large acquaintance with the

[1] In addition to this: *Beiträge zur biblischen Geschichte*, von K. v. Raumer, Leipsig 1848.

relations of general science to his theme, the author is hardly to be surpassed.

IX. TRAVELLERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

To these we are indebted, as will soon be seen, for invaluable additions to our knowledge of the Holy Land. The works which our own age has produced are mostly the productions of eye-witnesses, and form a worthy supplement to those whose authors have already passed under review. In my previous researches, I have felt it a duty connected with the performance of the task which I had assigned to myself, to survey the entire literature of my subject, and to give such hints in relation to the value of all works of any importance, as would be of service to future students; but in the field which now opens, it is doubtful how far such an attempt would be possible of completion. The majority of the works hitherto cited have had value rather to general scholars than to geographers; and in order to obtain even single grains of gold, it has often been necessary for me to pull to pieces great heaps of rubbish. But with the opening of the nineteenth century there is a great change. The amount of geographical material becomes then overwhelmingly abundant, and the facts which have been elicited (although repeated, it may be, again and again) are so embarrassingly numerous, that to examine them all requires an extent of time and an amount of strength so great, as to cause one to almost succumb and retire from the task. If, when Büsching wrote, 1781, he could say that it required whole months of preparation before he felt qualified to enter upon his account of Palestine, I may say that, after as many years of toil as he spent months, I do not feel ready to undertake a "Comparative Geography of the Holy Land" which shall be worthy to be regarded as a finished work. With all my effort it must be incomplete. It is only the conviction gained by experience, that even imperfect works may serve as a bridge to conduct future investigators to more ripened results, which gives me courage to enter upon this difficult field of my subject.

In the following list I shall do little more than refer to the authorities which are best known, without any attempt to

characterize them.[1] In the course of our future studies these will pass so closely under review, that the reader will be under no doubt of their comparative degrees of excellence. Meanwhile the recapitulation of their titles[2] in full will save much trouble in future, in preventing the necessity of restating them with troublesome repetition.

1800. E. D. Clarke, *Travels in various Countries*, vol. iv. 4th ed. Lond. 1817; *Holy Land*, chap. iii.–ix. He was only seventeen days in Palestine. His work displays more general scholarship than positive acquaintance with the country. He advanced hypotheses, and went to extremes in his judgments, which have been much modified and corrected by those who have come after him.

1807. Ali Bey (the anonymous Spanish Domingo Badials Leblich, who for a while was erroneously considered to be Burckhardt, and who, as a Mohammedan, attracted much interest in Europe), *Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 140–59, London 1816. His exact, though not voluminous narrative, has been of service to Berghaus[3] in constructing the map of Syria. Ali Bey was fortunate enough to gain access to the mosques.

1805–1807. Ulr. Jacob Seetzen, *Reiseberichte*. In May 1805, Seetzen,[4] who was known in the East as Sheikh Musa, reached Damascus; in March 1806 he travelled through the district of Belkah, on the east side of the Jordan;[5] in January 1807 he traversed the country east of the Dead Sea as far as Kerak, being the first who explored this region; and in the following year he passed from Jerusalem through the Desert of et-Tih, and thence to Cairo. In von Zach's *Monatliche Correspondenz*,[6] his valuable papers, which for a long time were scattered widely, were printed;[7] but up to the present time no

[1] J. v. Hammer-Purgstall, in Rev. of 18 works on Syria in the *Wien-Jahrb. der Literat.* vol. xlv. and xlix.; again in 1836, vol. lxxiv. pp. 1–102; also in 1839, vol. lxxxvii. pp. 1–203; again in 1843, vol. ciii. pp. 1–68.

[2] H. Berghaus, *Geogr. Memoir zur Erläuterung und Erklärung der Karte von Syrien*, Gotha 1835, pp. 1–21.

[3] Berghaus, *Syria Mem.* p. 508.

[4] Von Zach, *Monatl. Correspond.* 1806, May, p. 508.

[5] The same, 1807, xvi. July, p. 79.

[6] *Die Kartographische Benutzung*, in Klöden und Berghaus, *Syria Memoir*, pp. 7–9.

[7] The same, 1807, vol. xvii. Feb. p. 132.

collection of this eminent German traveller's documents, journals, and the like, has been published, to serve as the worthy monument of a zealous and eminent martyr to the cause of science. Less fortunate than his follower Burckhardt, himself a German, who traversed the same region, and who alone can be compared with him, Seetzen's writings are but little known to the world of scholars;[1] while Burckhardt's, under the auspices of the London Society, have been largely disseminated. I do not give up the hope, however, of seeing justice done to Seetzen in this regard. The reader has already noticed the large extracts which I have made elsewhere from his scattered papers, and needs no words of mine, I trust, to convince him that, despite the rapid progress made since Seetzen lived, much may still be learned of him.[2]

1802. Lieutenant-Colonel Squire, *Travels through part of the ancient Cœlo-Syria.* From his literary remains. The instructive tour in Middle Syria was made in company with W. Hamilton and W. M. Leake.[3]

1806–7. F. A. Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem*, Paris, 3 vols. Written with enthusiasm, in the spirit of the old pilgrimages, more brilliant than instructive, and full of historical errors. See Munk, *Palestine*, p. 657.

1810–1816. Johann Ludwig Burckhardt of Basle, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, published by the Association for promoting the Discovery of the interior parts of Africa, with preface by W. M. Leake, London 1822.[4] This work contains the record of his various travels in Syria, which were intended to serve as preparative to his labours of discovery in Inner Africa. His premature death at Cairo in 1817 disappointed his hope, as well as that of the world. The journey from Damascus to the Lebanon took place in the autumn of 1810, shortly

[1] Respecting Seetzen's papers and journals, see a letter from Prof. Kruse in the *Monthly Gazette of the Berlin. Geog. Soc.* New Series, vol. i. pp. 296–300.

[2] It may interest the reader to know, that since the above words were written, Seetzen's writings have been collected and published in Germany —the result largely of Ritter's personal influence.—Ed.

[3] Robert Walpole, *Travels in various Countries of the East*, London 1820, pp. 292–352.

[4] German Translation, with critical remarks, by Dr Gesenius, Weimar 1823, 2d Pt.

after the visit of Seetzen, as also did that to Hauran; in the winter of 1812 he went from Aleppo to Damascus; in the spring, through the valley of the Orontes to the Lebanon, and again through Hauran to Tiberias and Palestine; then in the summer of the same year, from Damascus through Arabia Petræa to Cairo, thence to make that journey of 1816 to Sinai on which we have already accompanied him. Burckhardt is recognised as one of the most admirable observers, and one of the most instructive travellers who have visited the East. His works have enjoyed the advantage of the editorship of Leake and Gesenius.[1]

1814. H. Light, *Travels in Egypt, Holy Land, etc.*, London 1818; and (1815) William Turner, *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, London 1820, 3 vols.

1815–1816. Otto Friedrich von Richter, *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande*, herausgegeben von J. P. G. Ewers, Berlin 1822. These three works contain important topographical details, all of which have been turned to profitable service by Berghaus.

1818. Thomas Legh, *Excursion from Jerusalem to Wadi Musa*, in William MacMichael's *Journey from Moscow to Constantinople*, London 1819. The fourth chapter contained the sketch of his tour from Jaffa to Kerak from April 2 to May 17, 1818; then follows the journey to Petra and back. His course next is from Kerak northward along the east shore of the Dead Sea to Damascus and Aleppo. His narrative is brief, but of some value on account of the newness of his route. The narratives of his companions in travel, Irby and Mangles, were unfortunately not available to Berghaus in constructing his masterly map of Syria and Palestine.[2]

1817–1818. Charles Leonard Irby and James Mangles, commanders in the Royal Navy, *Travels in Egypt, Nubia, Syria, and Asia Minor*, printed for private distribution, London 1823. Robinson has expressed his regret that the valuable record, though very hastily written down, of these remarkably observant travellers has never been published to the world. They had for companions, in the valley of Lake Tiberias, Mr Wil-

[1] See Leake respecting the chartographical importance of the work in the preface; also Berghaus, *Syria Mem.* pp. 9–12.

[2] Berghaus' *Syria Memoir*, p. 18.

liam John Banks, and in Kerak Mr Legh, whose brief narrative was referred to just above. The newness of the routes which they took,[1] particularly in the region east of the Dead Sea, has given their work a value altogether disproportionate to its humble pretensions. The fact that Irby and Mangles' book was never published,[2] in the booksellers' sense, deprived von Raumer among others of its service: he had only the briefer narrative of Legh. And a yet greater subject of regret is it, that Mr Banks, after his many years of travel in the East, and with his very extensive information, should be so stubbornly reticent, at least in regard to the district east of the Jordan, rich as it is in places of the greatest interest to the historian and the antiquarian.

I have alluded in the preceding volume to that part of Irby and Mangles' work which relates to the route from Kerak to Petra; and may now refer to Letter ii. pp. 174–236, the account of the journey from el-Arish and Gaza to Aleppo, including the excursion in 1818 to Palmyra; Letter iv. pp. 285–334, describing the route from Damascus through the valley of the Jordan to Nablus and Jerusalem; and Letter v., describing the journey along the west coast of the Dead Sea to Petra, thence back to Kerak, and so up the east shore, and by a route which embraced Heshbon, Rabbath-Amman, Jeraj, and Tiberias, to Acre. The map which records their wanderings has received valuable corrections from the hands of Lord Belmore, Capt. Corry, and Lieut.-Colonel Leake.[3]

1818. Robert Richardson, *Travels along the Mediterranean and parts adjacent, in company with the Earl of Belmore*, 1816–1818, London 1822, 2 vols. These gentlemen spent only a hundred and two days in Syria, traversing the more familiar routes of Palestine, as far south as to the region west of the Bahr el Huleh.[3] Dr Richardson has been called by Englishmen, in consequence of his accuracy, the Maundrell of the nineteenth century.

[1] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* pp. 183, 232, 333 et seq.

[2] When this was written, Ritter was not aware that Mr Murray of London had *published* the travels of Irby and Mangles, 2 vols. 16mo. 1844.—Ed.

[3] Berghaus, *Syria Memoir*, pp. 19, 20.

1816. J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Palestine, through the countries of Bashan and Gilead east of the river Jordan, including a Visit to the Cities of Geraza and Gamala*, London 1822, 2d ed. 2 vols.; with *Travels* (by the same) *among the Arab Tribes inhabiting the countries east of Syria and Palestine*, 1825. The last named is a continuation of the first, which closes with the author's stay in Nazareth during February 1816. The second narrative takes up the story where the first drops it, and in the form of a somewhat tedious and disconnected journal of travel, takes the reader along the east valley of the Jordan as far as Antioch and Aleppo. Notwithstanding the bad repute into which this traveller has fallen in consequence of his appropriation of a part of the honour due to Burckhardt and Banks for their discoveries, and for abusing their confidence in his honour by publishing what was not confided to him with that view, and in spite of the great inaccuracy of Buckingham in matters which require historical and philological attainments, yet it would be unjust to deny him the credit due to a bold and ardent explorer, and a man whose careful measurements of angles, distances, levels, and the like, have served as very important data in enabling Berghaus to complete his admirable map,[1] and to insert many particulars which must otherwise have been omitted.

Less important and noteworthy are the unpretending narratives of some travellers who visited the Holy Land at almost the same time with those last mentioned: the observant Swiss J. G. Mayr,[2] 1812-13; T. R. Joliffe, 1817, whose work is a valuable help to biblical students; Compte de Forbin, 1817–18, enriched with copper-plate sketches; F. W. Sieber,[3] 1818; Sir F. Henniker, 1820–21; John Carne, 1821; and Berggren the Swede, 1821, who paid special attention to the topography of Jerusalem. The works of all these writers are worth looking into, and are by no means destitute of merit. In relation to missions, the condition of the Jews resident in Palestine, and the religious state of the country, the writings of the mission-

[1] Berghaus, *Syria Memoir*, pp. 12–16.

[2] Joh. G. Mayr's *Reise*, St Gallen 1820. Only the fourth and fifth books need be consulted, pp. 301–432.

[3] F. W. Sieber, *Reise von Cairo nach Jerusalem*, Leipsig 1823: with a few botanical remarks.

aries, W. Jowett, Pliny Fisk, and Joseph Wolff, are the chief authorities; in what pertains to the Catholic foundations of the land, Dr M. A. Scholz, 1820–21, *Reise nach Palästina und Syrien*, is the most competent guide. The writings of Ruppell, Laborde, and others, who have confined their researches entirely to Arabia Petræa (so far as the country known in the broadest sense as the Holy Land is concerned), I need not allude to here.

1829. A. v. Prokesch, *Reise ins heilige Land*, Vienna 1831. Like all the writings of this author, interesting and instructive.

A. Daldini, *Viaggio di Terra Santa*, Milano 1830. A work with which I am as yet unacquainted.

1830–31. Michaud et Poujoulat, *Correspondance d'Orient*, Paris 1833, 7 vols. The distinguished name of the historian of the Crusades is not a correct voucher of the value of this work, which is of inferior value, and owes what excellence it does possess to the hand not of Michaud, but of Poujoulat. After the *History of the Crusades* was finished, its author went to Palestine, in order to study the ground of which he had written so much. The gentleman above named was his travelling companion. So meagre were the results, that, according to von Hammer,[1] a most thorough critic, there are many inaccuracies in the parts which relate even to the country most closely connected with the sites made famous by the deeds of the crusaders. More recently still, 1836–39, Poujoulat's brother Baptistin[2] has visited the country to fill the gaps which existed in the earlier correspondence. His contributions will be found in vol. ii. pp. 1–508.

1832–33. Edw. Hogg, *Visit to Alexandria, Damascus, and Jerusalem*, London 1835, 2 vols. The influence of the powerful sway of Ibrahim Pasha in Egypt led to such a degree of security even in the adjacent Syria, that many travellers, Englishmen in particular, were induced to visit Palestine. It is true they often took the old familiar paths, they often dashed hastily through the country, they often repeated what had been told before, and yet they have contributed much that was new.

[1] In *Wien. Jahrb.* 1836, lxxix. pp. 5–102.

[2] Baptistin Poujoulat, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineur en Mesopotamie, à Palmyre en Syrie, en Palestine et Egypt, etc*, Paris 1841, 2 vols.

It is unnecessary to name them all: only a few of the most eminent names need be cited here; among them Dr Hogg, whose work only touches upon Palestine in the second part; John Madox,[1] who has contributed some new topographical data regarding rivers, mountains, and celebrated places; Rev. Vere Monro,[2] whose instructive work has many points of excellence; Major Skinner,[3] 1833, who in his journey to India passed through Palestine as far as Damascus. Soon after these there followed J. L. Stephens, 1836, an American; Paxton, 1836–38; Rev. C. B. Elliot,[4] 1836, who, in consequence of the valuable companionship of G. Nicolayson, a missionary of great experience and long residence, ought to have made valuable contributions to our knowledge of Palestine, but whom a showy pretence to learning and etymological skill often led into gross errors. Palestine is in the second volume of his work. Lord Lindsay's[5] narrative, written in 1837, and full of youthful life, has been fully drawn from in the previous volume. Charles G. Addison and G. Robinson[6] are instructive in many particulars, especially in relation to the political condition and hydrography of the country.

1831–33. At about the same date, two Frenchmen of deeply religious nature, and of distinguished talents, visited the Holy Land in the spirit of the devoted pilgrims of the middle ages, full of an earnest longing to receive a higher consecration of life amidst the sacred scenes of Bible story, and at the same time, while strengthening their pious feeling, to do good service to art and learning. Their model was the brilliant and fanciful work of Chateaubriand, their eminent countryman and predecessor. One of them, the experienced and accomplished

[1] John Madox, *Excursions in the Holy Land*, London 1834, 2 vols. Reviewed in *Wien. Jahrb.* vol. lxxiv. p. 39.

[2] Rev. Vere Monro, *A Summer Ramble in Syria*, Lond. 1835, 2 vols.

[3] Maj. Skinner, *Adventures during a Journey overland to India, etc.*, London 1837.

[4] C. B. Elliot, *Travels in the Three Great Empires*, 2 vols. London 1838. See *Wien. Jahrb.* vol. lxxxvii. p. 41, etc.

[5] Lord Lindsay, *Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land*, Lond. 1839, 3d ed. in T. ii. pp. 50–232; together with letter of Mr Farren.

[6] C. G. Addison, *Damascus and Palmyra*, Lond. 1838, 2 vols.; G. Robinson, *Travels in Palestine and Syria*, London 1837, 2 vols.

Father Marie Joseph de Geramb,[1] a clergyman of the order of Trappists from the Abbey Mont des Olives in Alsace, had been driven by the Revolution of July from his peaceful home, and forced by the stormy waves which surged around him, and the wounds which his native land had received, to find a refuge for his simple nature in that holy city and home of his faith, for whose future in his mind, as well as in that of the young and glowing Alphonse de Lamartine,[2] there burned a noble hope, which uttered itself in the fiery language of poetry and patriotic enthusiasm. De Geramb's work is the edifying and unobtrusive description of what he had witnessed in the Holy Land as well as in Egypt.[3] Not so unpretending, however, are the *Souvenirs* of Lamartine. As the title indicates, they do not propose a scientific treatment of the theme; and the language of a thorough orientalist is just, that nothing of a geographical nature is to be learned from Lamartine's work; and quite as little that is authentically historic, since he, like Chateaubriand, has fallen into many an error. His work, which is universally known, is valuable for its rich poetic fancies, and its artistic delineation of the beauties of nature. With Father Geramb's work we must couple one which followed almost immediately after, written by Joseph Salzbacher, Prebendary of St Stephen's Church in Vienna, 1839, 2 vols. This work is an excellent contribution to our knowledge of the present position of Catholic institutions in Palestine.

1834. Marmont, Duc de Raguse, *Voyage en Hongrie, etc., en Syrie, en Palestine, etc.*, Bruxelles 1837, 4 vols. This work contains a very compact account of Palestine, the record of a very observant mind, and is particularly valuable in its political and military details. Its contributions to our knowledge of the physical character of the country are not unimportant, as his instruments were all trustworthy.

We close this list of authorities on the general character of the country as a whole, by citing the three most noted works of all, whose authors followed each other in quick succession, and

[1] Rev. Père Marie Joseph de Geramb, Religieux de la Trappe, *Pilgrimage à Jerusalem et au Mt. Sinai en* 1831–1833, Tournay 1836.

[2] *Souvenirs, Impressions, Pensées, et Passages pendant un Voyage en Orient*, par Lamartine, de l'Académie Française; *Oeuvres*, Brux. 1838.

[3] *Wien. Jahrb.* 1836, vol. lxxiv. pp. 4, 15–21.

traversed all parts of this inexhaustible country, everywhere bringing new and interesting facts to light. In the preceding volume, I have so fully quoted from their works, that their most striking characteristics are already familiar to the reader; and it is not necessary here to repeat formally, that they stand altogether in advance of those who preceded them. Von Schubert, Robinson, and Russegger, noble, honoured names, are by a happy fortune my own personal dear friends; and I cannot forbear returning them my warmest thanks for the free use of the records of their leisurely journeyings and unwearied researches in the Holy Land, without which it would have been impossible for me to have ventured on the preparation of the present work, which owes its best and most important parts to the results of their patient efforts.

Of Russegger's researches I have spoken so fully in the preceding volume, that it is unnecessary to recapitulate in this place.

1836–37. Dr G. H. von Schubert, *Reise in das Morgenland*, Erlangen 1839, of which vol. ii. pp. 462–591, and vol. iii. pp. 1–390, contain the portion relating to Palestine and Syria. One of the most learned critics has said as truly as finely, that Schubert has caught the genuine spirit of the East as almost no one of his predecessors has done, and reproduced it with a fidelity and a heartiness which is quite unique, proceeding from that religious point of view, from which alone the philosophy, morals, customs, and mode of life in the East can be correctly appreciated. Without hunting after what is paradoxical, as so many who went before him have done, and without losing sight of what is essential and vital by reason of the abundance and multifariousness of his learning, this author, who undertook the difficult journey at the age of fifty-six, has accomplished his task with so much spirit and such signal success, and reproduced his own impressions with so much freedom and life, and enriched the mind of his reader with so much that is new regarding the natural history of the Holy Land, that even where he recounts what is old and trite, his charmingly written narrative finds favour; and everywhere, where he undertakes to depict the scenery of the country, he does it with a master's hand.

1838. E. Robinson and E. Smith, *Biblical Researches in*

Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa in 1838, drawn up from the original diaries, with historical illustrations by Edward Robinson, Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theol. Seminary, New York; with new map and plans in five sheets; London, J. Murray, 1841, 3 vols. The same title in the Am. ed.: Boston, Crocker and Brewster.[1]

This work, which was originally written in English in Berlin, was translated into German partly by the author himself, and wholly under his personal supervision; and the two editions, published simultaneously in London and Halle, as well as that which appeared in Boston, are the author's own. The only difference is in the dedication: the English edition being inscribed to Lord Prudhoe [the late Duke of Northumberland]; the American, to Rev. Moses Stewart, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Andover Theological Seminary; the German, to the author of this work. The maps, which were constructed with the rare skill of Dr Kiepert from the voluminous data furnished by Robinson, the result of his innumerable measurements, and which were lithographed in the most faithful and beautiful manner by H. Mahlmann, raised the chartography of Palestine one step higher even than Berghaus had placed it; and they remain perhaps the very finest efforts of skill which have appeared either in or out of Germany, and are inserted on account of their great value in the English, American, and German editions of the work.

The union of that very close observation of the topographical features of the country which characterizes the work of Burckhardt, with many preparatory studies, particularly with a thorough familiarity with the Bible, and with philological and historical criticism, and the thorough acquaintance with the colloquial language of the country enjoyed by Mr Smith, who had long been a missionary there, make this work, prepared as it was after the severest toil, a classic in its own field,—a production which has already set the geography of the Holy Land on a more fixed basis than it had ever had before, and which will ensure its continued advance. No previous work had collected a greater store of new and important discoveries of a historico-critical character, says the competent judge,

[1] It is hardly necessary to tell the reader that a later and enlarged edition, with subsequent researches, has been since published.—Ed.

J. Olshausen; and the admirable principles of investigation which are unfolded in Robinson's work, will serve as a beacon for all future explorers, who shall endeavour to read the word of God by the light reflected from the scenes amid which it was recorded. The work has marked an epoch in biblical geography. The universally recognised merits of its author[1]—who has been, as becomes a true scholar, not grudging in his commendation of worthy predecessors in the same field, but who has had at times, in his eager search after truth, to be the open foe of convent legends, the light tales of tradition, and the gross historical errors which lay in his way—have not prevented his being attacked by all kinds of adversaries, some of them men of superficial attainments, some of them men actuated by base motives or by passionate animosity.[2] But Robinson was not engaged in defending a set of opinions, but in attaining the truth; and knowing that every human work has its imperfections, he did not pretend, as his own pages show, that his book was a completed production, but rather a careful essay[3] towards a result which he believed other men would come to fulfil in a more perfect manner than lay within his power. The task of his life, first to last, lay before him rather than behind him; and the German editor of his later researches (Rödiger) very justly says that Robinson's greatest merit lies

[1] *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxix. Art. v. pp. 150–185. *Wien. Jahrb. der Literatur*, 1842, vol. xcviii. pp. 126, 159, and 1843, vol. cii. pp. 214–235, von J. Olshausen; *Hallische Allg. Literatur Zeitung*, 1842, Nos. 28, 29, pp. 218–240; Nos. 71–73, pp. 561–583, 1843; Nos. 110, 111, pp. 265–280, by Rödiger; Gross of Wurtemburg, in the fourth No. of the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1843, in Raumer, *Beiträge*, 1843.

[2] *Bulletin de la Soc. Geogr. de Paris*, 1840, T. xiii. pp. 156–161, in Leon de Laborde, *Commentaire geogr. sur l'Exode*, Paris 1841, in App. i.; Rev. Geo. Williams, *The Holy City, or Hist. and Topogr. Notices of Jerusalem*, 1845.

[3] *Bibliotheca Sacra, or Tracts and Essays, etc.*, editor E. Robinson, New York, 1843. In this are *Researches in Palestine*, compiled by the editor from various communications from Eli Smith and R. S. Wolcott, with a map, pp. 9–88. *The Reputed Site of the Holy Sepulchre*, pp. 184–202; *The Druzes of Lebanon*, pp. 205–253; *Bibliotheca Sacra* and *Theol. Review*, by Edwards and Park, New York, 1844, vol. i.; E. Robinson, *Notes on Biblical Geog.* pp. 217–221, 598–602, 794–800, vol. ii. pp. 398, 400, vol. v. 1846, pp. 184–214, and Nos. xi. and xii. Of the latter there is a German translation, *Neue Untersuchungen über die Topographie Jerusalems.*

in his kindling into life that great interest in the topography of the Bible scenes, which has prompted a very high class of minds to explore the region with exhaustive skill,—men like Schultz, Krafft, Tobler, and Gadow, whose works I shall have occasion further on to use so largely, that I forbear speaking of them in detail here.

The readers of the preceding volume have already had occasion to observe, that in some cases, where the progress of recent discovery would seem to justify it, I have not hesitated to draw different conclusions from those reached by my honoured friend. Instances will occur in connection with Mount Sinai and Kadesh-Barnea. The superficial and not seldom bitter criticism which has fallen upon him from prelatical England and from Catholic France, and the unworthy efforts which have been made in those two countries to undermine the results gained by the distinguished American, are in strong contrast with the thorough and impartial reviews of his work which have appeared in Germany. Such assaults would never have been made by men who stopped to consider what were the fundamental principles of Robinson's method of investigation: they are such as would be impracticable in many pilgrimages to the Holy Land; but in one whose object was confessedly scientific, they are only to be spoken of highly, and are to be used as the correct standard of measuring all the works on Palestine which have been already cited in these pages.

The two fundamental principles which Robinson and Smith have laid down for their guidance in determining the historical value of the traditions of Palestine, were these, that different weight is to be attached—(1) to the later traditions which have arisen since Constantine's time, and which, springing from the changed ecclesiastical condition of the land, have been largely diffused by those who were not the primeval inhabitants of the country, but resident aliens, so to speak; and (2) to the primitive and indigenous traditions, rooted deeply in the Semitic character, living in the mouths of the common people, and perpetuating themselves in the local names of places, since the Arabic now spoken is so akin in its general features to the Hebrew which it has supplanted, that it changes but slightly the old words, and leaves the roots visible; while the Greek never took a firm or lasting hold, and never grafted itself upon

the national life of the land. The names Diospolis, Nicopolis, Ptolemais, and Antipatris, have long since disappeared; while the still older names of Lydda, Emmaus, and others which will readily recur to the reader's mind, are still found in the Ludd and Amwas of the present day. These indigenous words were never regarded as important by the Byzantine ecclesiastical authorities; nor were they observed by the earlier travellers, who surrendered themselves unreservedly to the guidance of monks, and contentedly received whatever they told them. But the more ancient tradition both Robinson and Smith found never to deceive them; while that which was more modern continually appealed to other sources of testimony in confirmation of itself, especially the Bible, while it very often stood in direct antagonism even to that to which it appealed. Seetzen had even earlier called attention to the value of the primitive Semitic traditions; for he too had found, in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, and in the lower valley of the Jordan, many words which carried him back to the remotest antiquity, and which since the time of Jerome had never found a record in literature. Of such names Robinson collected a vast number, all of them of the utmost importance in enabling him to exhume, as it were, the ancient topography of Palestine.

In order to gain unbiassed results, the American travellers shunned all the convents on their route, which had before been the almost exclusive lodging-places of pilgrims (Burckhardt and Ruppell being the only exceptions). They abjured the companionship and the guidance of monks, shunned the usual routes of travel; but when their materials were collected, they compared them with the often-told ecclesiastical traditions, only to the manifest falseness and untrustworthiness, be it said, of the latter. Three periods are to be discriminated, however, in the gradual formation of these discarded traditions; and, as a general principle, their value grows greater as we recede from the present time. The first period is that of the fourth century, whose representatives are the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* and the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome, and the other writings of the last-named divine. In these works there is a blending of ecclesiastical hypotheses and of popular words which disappear in the later literature, but which Robinson found to survive in the mouths of the common people. The second

period is that of the Crusades, whose traditions are the most fully portrayed in Brocardus, 1283,—a work of far greater value, in consequence of its compact topographical descriptions, than the two thick folios of Quaresmius, written in the middle of the seventeenth century. In him the follies of the ecclesiastical traditions come to their height.

Following their uniform plan of travel, Robinson and Smith did not lodge in the convents, but in the open air, or in the houses of the people, employed the Syrians as their guides, and struck across the country through the most retired and unexplored byways. Nor did they ask direct questions, which usually get the answer which the Arab thinks the questioner wants; but by the most indirect interrogatories and cross questions, and by comparing the answers gained from different persons, they at last felt, in most cases at least, that they had in some measure attained the actual facts. The services of Mr Smith, who had for many years been a missionary in Syria, and was perfectly familiar with the popular speech, were indispensable. Each traveller kept his own journal, but there was no comparison on the way: it was only when the work was composed, that the whole material was canvassed, and the results established.

With these remarks, which seemed a necessary preliminary to the free use of Robinson's materials, I close my review of the published authorities on Palestine. I must not withhold the very cordial thanks which I owe, however, to those gentlemen who have not published the record of their travels, but who have favoured me with the free use of the manuscripts.

X. CRITICAL AND FRAGMENTARY CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PAST TEN YEARS TO THE PARTIAL CORRECTION OR COMPLETION OF THE ABOVE WORKS.

The accumulation of material in the works mentioned above has awakened a lively interest in Palestine, and prompted the desire to explore more in detail what had been left for others to examine. The spirit of these investigators is a delightful one, and the results are in many cases very valuable, probing the subject to the depths without losing themselves in its breadth. And I must here acknowledge the value of the

monographs, special papers, and briefer notes in some cases, which have been communicated in both printed and manuscript form, and in some cases by word of mouth. I can only cite the most important of them; for they are, in most cases, so scattered as to be inaccessible for reference should the reader desire a nearer acquaintance with their contents.

Upon the hypsometrical observations made on the Isthmus of Suez, in the valley of the Jordan, and in the basin of the Dead Sea:

Letronne, *sur la Separation primitive des Bassins de la Mer Morte et de la Mer Rouge, et sur la différence de niveau entre la Mer Rouge et la Méditerranée*, Paris 1839. The same, in *Journ. des Savans*, 1835, Août et Oct.; and Col. Callier, *Lettre* in *Journ. des Savans*, Jan. 1836 and Août 1838. Compare Callier, *Note* in *Bulletin de la Soc. Géogr.* Paris, Août 1838.

Letronne, *l'Isthme de Suez; le Canal de jonction de deux mers, sous les Grecs, les Romains, et les Arabes. Revue de deux Mondes*, 15 Juill. 1841.

J. Vetch, *Inquiry into the Means of a Ship Navigation between the Mediterranean and Red Seas*, London 1843.

Von Wildenbuch, *Memoire über das Nivellement der Landenge Suez von Negrelli;* and Dr Abeken, *über die Landenge Suez in Beziehung auf ihren frühern Zustand, nach Localuntersuchungen.* Both in MS.

Compte Jules de Bertou, *Itinéraire de la Mer Morte par la Ghor à Akaba, et retour à Hebron*, 1838, in the *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géogr. de Paris*, T. xi. Paris 1839; also Capt. Callier, *Note* T. x. 1838.

Compte Jules de Bertou, *Memoire sur la Depression de la Vallée du Jourdain, et du lac Asphaltite;* in the *Bulletin* above quoted, tom. xii. 1839, i. pp. 133–135, and P. ii. *Nivellement du Jourdain*, pp. 135, 136, with maps.

J. Russegger, *über die Depression des Todten Meers und des ganzen Jordanthals vom See Tiberias bis zum Wadi el Ghor*, in Poggend. *Annal.* vol. liii. No. xvi. pp. 179–194.

E. Robinson, *Appendix* xxxvii. on the statements of Bertou.

G. H. Moore and W. G. Beke, *on the Dead Sea and some Positions in Syria*, in *Journ. of the Roy. Geog. Soc. of Lond.* 1837, vol. vii.; and in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, New York 1843.

Dr G. Parthey, *über die Einsenkungen unter das Niveau des Meeres*, 1838, MS.

Dr Daubeny, *The Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, occasioned by Volcanic Action*, in Jameson, *Edinburgh Phil. Journal*, Nov. 1826.

Alex. v. Humboldt, *über die Depression des Jordanthales*, in his *Central Asia*, also in his *Cosmos*. [Ritter's references are to the German edition.]

Von Wildenbruch, *Routiers in Palästina und Syrien*, in *Monatsberichte der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, Neue Folge*, Pt. i. 1843; his *Vertical Section from Joppa to the Dead Sea by way of Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem to Lake Tiberias and the Sources of the Jordan*, Pt. iii.; *the Vertical Section from Beirut to Damascus*, Pt. iv.; and the same on the *Climatology of Palestine*, Pt. i.

Dr De Forest, *Contributions to the Climatology of Palestine*, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, New York 1844.

K. v. Raumer, *Das östliche Palästina und das Land Edom*, in Berghaus' *Annalen*, Feb. 1830; the same, *das ostjordanische Judäa*, 1834, in *Litterarischer Anzeiger für Christliche Theologie und Wissens.* 1834, Nos. i. and ii.; the same, *Beiträge zur biblischen Geographie*, Leipsig 1843; the same, *Abhandlung der tertiaire Kalkstein bei Paris und der Kalkstein des westlichen Palästina.*

To these may be added many new topographical discoveries on new routes or in special localities, some of the most important of which are:

Major Robe, *Country about the Sources of the Jordan*, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, New York 1843.

Sam. Wolcott, *Excursion from Jerusalem* viâ *Nazareth to Sidon and Beirut*, in a letter to Eli Smith, in *Bib. Sacra*, 1843.

Eli Smith, *Visit to Antipatris*, 1843, in *Bib. Sacra.*

Sam. Wolcott, *Excursion to Masada*, in the same; also, *Excursion from Sidon to Baalbek and Lebanon*, in the same; also, *Excursion to Mar Saba*, in the same.

W. M. Thompson, *The Sources of the Jordan, the Lake el-Hûleh, and the adjacent Country*, in *Bib. Sacra*, New York 1846.

W. M. Thompson, *Journal of a Visit to Safet and Tiberias*, in the *Missionary Herald*, Boston, Nov. 1837, xxxiii.; Noll

and Moore, in the *Journ. of the Roy. Geog. Soc. of London*, vol. vii.

E. Robinson's monographs on the following subjects:—*Eleutheropolis*, in *Bib. Sacra*, 1843; on *Eleutheropolis*, in *Bib. Sac.* 1844; on *Arimathæa*, in *Bib. Sac.* 1843; on *Ramah of Samuel*, *Bib. Sac.* 1844; on *Legio*, *Megiddo*, *Maximianopolis*, in the same, vol. ii. 1844; on *Gibeah of Saul*, *Rachel's Sepulchre*, in *B. Sac.* 1844, vol. i.; on *the City of Ephrain*, the same, vol. ii.

C. Gaillardot, *Carte approximative der Ledja et des contrées environnantes, dressée pendant la campagne d'Ibrahim Pacha contre les Druzes*, 1838. Taf. ii. in *Berlin Monatsber. d. Geogr. Gesellsch. N. Folge*, 1846, vol. iii.

E. G. Schultze, Prussian Consul, *The manuscript Record of Six Visits made to Districts of Palestine very little known, from* 1845 *to* 1847, containing some discoveries, contained in a letter dated Beirut, Jan. 29, 1848. I may be permitted to add, that very important investigations are now going on under the direction of Mr Schultze, and that the account of his journey through the whole province of Galilee, with the original documents relating to the Knights of St John, and their possessions there during the Crusades, in his hand, will be received with great interest.

I may also express my personal obligation for extracts from letters written by Baruch Auerbach in 1828; Dr Jost, 1830; Shwebel Mieg, 1832; A. Bräm, 1834; W. G. Beke, 1837; E. Gross, 1844; as well as for the use of the journals of Dr W. Krafft 1845, Dr Barth 1847, and Mr Gadow.[1]

J. v. Hammer-Purgstall, *Syrien, nach dem Dschihannuma des Hadschi Chalfa*, in *Wien. Jahr. d. Literatur*, 1836, vol. lxxiv. pp. 1–102.

In the *Journ. of the Roy. Geog. Soc. of London*, vol. xviii. p. 2, 1848, are three important papers relating to the hydrographical character of Palestine: Robinson, *Depression of the Dead Sea and of the Jordan Valley;* Augustus Petermann, *on the Fall of the Jordan;* Lieutenant Molineux, *Expedition to the Jordan and the Dead Sea*, March 1848. The last contains

[1] H. Gadow, *Ausflug von Jerusalem über Jericho au den Jordan, das Todte Meer und nach Mar Saba*, in *Zeitsch. der d. morgenl. Gesell.* vol. ii. 1848, pp. 52–65.

the record of the first successful navigation and sounding of Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea.

A great store of special observations relating to the upper valley of the Jordan, and particularly its inhabitants, the people of the Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, and Hasbeiya, is contained in the uncommonly valuable, and in original authorities very rich, *Missionary Herald*, Boston, U.S., in vols. xxxiii. 1837, and xliii. 1847, for whose welcome use during the years indicated I wish here to avow my deepest thanks and great obligations to the Board of American Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and to the editors of the *Herald*. These thanks will only be confirmed in the course of this work by the evident service which I have drawn from the valuable writings of such men as Eli Smith, W. Thompson, De Forest, Van Lennup, Calhoun, Whiting, Hurter, Lanneau, Van Dyck, Beadle, and Hinsdale, among many others.

Other authorities regarding Jerusalem and northern Syria will be cited further on, but now I will only append a list of some of the most serviceable maps of Palestine.

XI. MAPS OF PALESTINE, AND OTHER GEOGRAPHICAL SOURCES.

There exists a mass of old maps of the Holy Land, so vast that I cannot undertake to survey them all and to report upon them; but the most of them are of interest only to the antiquarian, or, at the highest, serve to explain the older volumes cited above, which, in fact, they were generally intended to accompany. But the efforts of Seetzen and Burckhardt gave a new impetus to the chartography of Palestine, which had necessarily to grow slowly up into its present fair proportions, rejecting the false and fanciful sketches with which our predecessors had to be content, and gradually giving the true physical and topographical character of the land. Much is lacking even yet, however, and much will be lacking so long as we are destitute of accurate astronomical, trigonometrical, and hypsometrical observations taken over the whole country.

That in the present condition of affairs in Palestine there is not much ground for hope that this will be accomplished, is evident; but it is much to be regretted in behalf of science, that

the results of the trigonometrical survey of the Jordan valley and of the coast of Palestine, undertaken by the English Admiralty, and completed in 1841, have not yet been published. I am very far from wishing to blame the officers of this branch, above all praise of mine as it is, and which has undertaken such varied enterprises, and carried them on with such energy and with so liberal outlay, and to which I am personally under so great obligations; for I know well what are the difficulties which must attend the work, engaged as the Admiralty is with enterprises which extend to every part of the globe. But I have to regret, nevertheless, that I have not been able to use the results of that survey as the basis in part of the present volume. Molineux's *Memoir*, already cited, is a proof of the cordial good-will which the English Government[1] bear to the progress of geographical science, as well as that of Sir Francis Beaufort, whose name is held in such estimation, and to whom I am under such a weight of obligations that I might venture to call him with pride my honoured patron.

With Seetzen's manuscript map of the district from Damascus down the valley of the Jordan to the Ghor at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, published in 1810 as a supplement to the *Gotha Monatliche Correspondenz*, and engraved and constructed under the care of Lindenau,[2] began the correct knowledge of the district lying within the basin of the Jordan. After this appeared the work of the engineers Jacotin and Paultre,[3] constructed under the auspices of the French Government. The possession of Egypt and south-west Palestine by a European power occasioned the preparation of that great topographical atlas called the *Description de l'Egypte*, whose last five plates, on a scale of $\frac{1}{100000}$ of the true size,[4] comprised the very valuable maps of Western Palestine. On these the coast roads from Gaza over Carmel and to Tyre and Sidon are laid down with praiseworthy detail; the survey towards the interior

[1] W. J. Hamilton, *Address to the Roy. Geog. Soc. of London*, May 22, 1848, p. 16.

[2] Von Zach, *Monat. Corresp.* vol. xxii. 1810, pp. 542–552.

[3] Paultre, *Carte de la Syrie*, Paris 1803.

[4] *Carte topographique de la Egypte et de plusieurs parties des pays limitrophes, levée pendant l'Expedit. de l'armée Français, etc.*, construite par Jacotin, Colonel; publ. par ordre du Gouvernement.

of the country extends only as far as Jerusalem, Nablus, and Lake Tiberias, and northward to the neighbourhood of el-Hûleh and to the lower course of the Leontes; beyond these limits the power of the French arms did not extend. Unfortunately the lack of astronomical observations, and a complete ignorance of the longitude, caused the whole coast between Gaza and Akka to be set one-third of a degree too far eastward. This led to much uncertainty, which was only removed, as far as the northern coast of Syria is concerned, by Captain Gauthier's observations, 1816–20, but which remains in the southern half to the present day. It will only be removed when the results of the recent survey undertaken by the English Admiralty shall be published.[1]

Whatever could be accomplished by acuteness, and the power of combining the materials at hand, was effected in a really masterly way by C. F. Klöden,[2] in his map published 1817, which, however, he called, in consequence of its small scale, a mere first effort. With this may worthily be compared the chart constructed by Dufour,[3] which ought to bring into harmonious combination Gauthier's topography, Jacotin's surveys, Paultre's measurements, Burckhardt's routes of travel, and some still more recent observations.

The rapid progress of geographical discovery in Palestine, due to Burckhardt, Buckingham, W. Turner, Richter, Ehrenberg, Legh, and Henniker, made it possible, ten years later, for Berghaus to display his well-known chartographical talent in the construction of the map of Syria (Gotha 1835), to accompany his masterly atlas of Asia. This work must be reckoned among the most beautiful and most excellent models of modern geographical skill; and the admirable explanation furnished by the author corresponds happily with the value of the map which it accompanies. We have no need to speak of the value of this work in full, for Berghaus[4] has indi-

[1] Mr Hamilton, *Address to the Roy. Geog. Soc. of London*, May 22, 1848, p. lxxiv.; and Murchison, *Address*, May 26, 1845, p. cxxiii. in vol. xiv., and p. cvii. in vol. xv. [The English maps are now issued.]

[2] C. F. Klöden, *Landeskunde von Palestina*, Berlin 1847. See Preface to the Map, pp. 125–140.

[3] A. H. Dufour, *Carte de la Palestine adoptée par le Conseil Roy. de l'Instruct.* publ. Paris 1825; together with *Analyse geographique, etc.*

[4] H. Berghaus, *Geographisches Memoir zur Erklärung und Erläuterung*

cated in the most complete manner his sources and his principles of construction, and collected a rich store of authentic and well-arranged data. His work opens a new era in the chartography of Palestine and Syria.

I may remark of Berghaus' map, however, without entering into detailed panegyric, that one great excellence consists in the clear and accurate portrayal of the routes taken by such travellers as Burckhardt, Buckingham, Richter, and others, as well as by the artistic and yet very natural manner in which it displays the varying elevation of the land, and fills in, in a manner which would hardly be suspected, and in accordance with his own fancy, controlled by the analogies of place and circumstance, a mass of conjectural details to supply the deficiency of personal knowledge. This, although not warranted by all the circumstances, is the best thing that can be done until the whole country shall be thoroughly explored; for it prevents that sharp contrast between those parts of the map which display regions accurately examined, and those with which we are as yet unacquainted, and serves to bridge over the necessary blank space. And how accurately Berghaus has done this conjectural work, may be seen by comparing his map with the statements of E. G. Schultze, made after his journey of discovery in 1847, when he traversed the country between Jebel Safed, north-west of Lake Tiberias, and Belad Bjerre, south-east of Sûr (Tyre), and south of the Leontes; a region which that traveller describes as poetry itself.

If the absolute meagreness of personal observations made it imperatively necessary to fill in his map with the fancies which Berghaus' own imagination suggested, another want has impaired its accuracy in another respect. The mathematical observations which had been taken when it was constructed, were so few in number, that no minute triangulation of the whole country could possibly be effected; and it was impossible to calculate the angles and estimate nicely the distances without making some errors. Yet the thorough manner in which the work was done, so far as the larger triangulation is concerned, is so remarkable that minor corrections can easily be entered, and the whole attain an accuracy which is not at all possible in one of those most

der Karte von Syrien, Gotha 1835, pp. 1–48. See a review of this by von Raumer, in *Jahrb. für wissenschaft. Kritik*, Feb. 1836, No. 27, p. 211.

inaccurate and superficial productions which the mere map-makers turn out so abundantly to mislead the public. The weakest point of Berghaus' work, however, is one that has been referred to by others[1]—its great deficiency in what relates to biblical geography.

Yet the map of Palestine prepared still later by von Raumer did not, with all its accuracy, surpass its predecessor. It is, however, a work of great merit; and in its mechanical construction and its historical character it did much to pave the way for a subsequent map,[2] smaller in scale, but very thorough and very satisfactory to Bible students. I must not omit to refer to one prepared by the accomplished J. L. Grimm, very valuable in its character, but lithographed in a hard and tasteless manner.[3] Its scale was $\frac{1}{900000}$ of the natural size; its date of publication was 1830.

Like geology, geography is a young and progressive science: it knows no pause, and with each year it gains new ground, and pierces to new depths; and hardly five years had passed after the efforts last referred to had culminated in their great perfection, when rich material had gathered itself so profusely in this field, that it was necessary to construct a new and independent map of Palestine, which should, so far as the eastern shore of the Jordan is concerned, do little more than repeat what Berghaus had already given, but which in all that makes up Palestine proper, should be an original work. This task, which was to illustrate Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, was accomplished by H. Kiepert in so masterly a manner, and in every respect so thoroughly scientific a spirit, as to win the applause of all scientific judges, and to be the model for all following works of its kind. The thousands of angles and measurements taken down by Robinson and Smith in their journeys by highways and byways, though lacking to a certain extent the perfect accuracy of astronomical observations, have been applied so acutely and with such fine appreciation

[1] See Hiller's excellent review of von Raumer's *Palestine*, and of Berghaus' map, in *Anzeiger der Königl. Bayr. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Munich 1836, No. 236, pp. 837–936.

[2] *Karte von Palästina nach zuverlässigsten alten und neuen Quellen*, von K. v. Raumer und F. v. Stülpnagel. Gotha, J. Perthes.

[3] *Palästina*, von J. L. Grimm, Berlin 1830.

of the meaning of his guides by Kiepert, that I need only refer to his own memoir for the best and yet most modest eulogy of the work.[1] It is enough to say, that accurate and close as were the descriptions and measurements of Burckhardt, those of the American travellers surpass even his. The two maps of Palestine are on the scale of $\frac{1}{400000}$ of the size of nature, that of Arabia Petræa only one-half of that. But in order to meet the universal want of a good map of Palestine for general use, and to still keep true to the latest discoveries and the highest scientific character, while shunning the shallowness and imperfection which the works of mere tinkers display, Kiepert published, in 1842, a map of Palestine of reduced size,[2] on the scale of $\frac{1}{600000}$ of the natural size. This came to a second edition in 1843. In this work, not only did he retain the clear display of elevation which characterized the larger maps, but he published a new and original map of the country east of the Jordan, not following Berghaus any longer, but using still more recent materials than his predecessor had enjoyed. And at the time of my writing these words, Kiepert is engaged in revising the last-mentioned map, and in adding the results of the very latest investigations, involving a labour of which the copyists of copyists have no conception,—the men who follow their own taste and fancy, and think that a medley of names, thickly sown, and handsome colouring and artistic engraving, constitute a valuable map. They confuse dates, names, and varieties of spelling in the most irregular manner, and do more to perplex than to enlighten the student who consults them. Among the most noteworthy of these, which I purposely forbear to speak of in any fulness, is unfortunately to be reckoned a map of Palestine, drawn by the estimable Jean van de Cotte,[3] and published at Brussels by the Vandermaelen establishment; a very attractive work, but of which it is enough to say in a single word, that, as the accompanying memoir indicates, though claiming to

[1] *Atlas in fünf Blätt. zu Robinson's Palestina*, construirt von Heinrich Kiepert, und lithographirt von W. Mahlmann, Berlin 1840-41.

[2] *Karte von Palestine nach Robinson und Smith*, bearbeitet von H. Kiepert, herausgegeben von C. Ritter. Berlin, Schropp, 1843.

[3] *Carte topographique de la Palestine*, dresser d'apres la carte topographique de Jacotin, beaucoup augmentée par Jean van de Cotte, curé. Bruxelles 1847.

be the product of five years' labour, it completely ignores the labours of Robinson and Kiepert, and while using the works of Berghaus and Jacotin, yet appeals to the very earliest chartographical efforts relating to Palestine, and places the maps produced in the middle ages—those of Brocardus, Adrichomius, etc.—in the same rank, and by the side of those which have incorporated the discoveries of Malte Brun, Chateaubriand, Lamartine, and Geramb, serving up the whole legendary medley under the name of a topographical map of Palestine. Far more faithful are the two American works just published, that of Colton in New York, and of Tracy in Boston, who have followed the latest and best authorities, much as they have left to be desired.[1]

To the fresh contributions which have been made to the materials available for chartographical purposes, in addition to the recent routes opened across the et-Tih desert by Russegger, Callier, and Abeken, there are the following to be appended:

A very valuable map of the whole western section of the upper valley of the Jordan has been prepared under the auspices of the French Government, but which has unfortunately not yet been published. The scale is $\frac{1}{500000}$ of nature. I possess this work through the kindness of Col. Callier, and I can only regret that it is not accompanied by letterpress, which would add so much to its value. This is, in a certain measure, supplied by the hasty sketch[2] which he has given of his wanderings[3] through Syria, which extended from Gaza and Hebron to the sources of the Jordan and the Orontes, as far northward indeed as to Tripoli. Callier's map gives also the routes of Beaufort de Hautpouls and of A. de Caramans.

Major Robe, *Country around the Sources of the Jordan*, from

[1] Samuel Wolcott, in *Bibl. Sacra*, vol. iv. 1845, pp. 588–590.

[2] *Carte de la Syrie meridionale, et de la Palestine*, dressée en 1835, d'apres les ordres du Directeur du Depôt General de la Guerre, Lieut.-Gen. Pelet, p. Camille Callier, Chef d'Escadr. au Corps Roy. d'Etat Major, d'apres ses observations et reconnaissances faites en 1832 à 1833, a l'Echelle de $\frac{1}{300000}$.

[3] Camille Callier, *Voyage en Asie Mineure, Syrie, etc.*, Memoire in *Bull. de la Soc. de Geogr. de Paris*, Jan. 1835, 2 ser. T. iii. pp. 7–22. Compare C. Callier et Poulain de Bossay, *Note sur quelques explorations à faire en Syrie, en Palestine, et dans l'Arabie Petrée*, in *Bullet. etc.* T. ix. 1838, pp. 40–49.

the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843; a map accompanying an article already referred to.[1]

Plate V. to accompany the text of L. von Wildenbruch's article already mentioned, contains his routes in Syria and Palestine, very carefully detailed.

E. Gaillardot's *Map of the Ledja*, 1838; in the *Monatsb.* 1846.

A small sketch prepared by S. Wolcott to illustrate the west coast of the Dead Sea, and giving the situation of Masada.

The publication of the Admiralty survey of Syria would revolutionize the existing state of knowledge, and would make it necessary to reconstruct the maps of Palestine *de novo*. It is to be hoped that that event will take place,[2] and that the world will be enabled to enjoy the valuable results of that expedition which owes so much to the liberality of the English Government.

The results of this survey will embody the trigonometrical observations and the vertical measurements between the Mediterranean Sea and the valley of the Jordan, and will establish the height of its lakes as compared with the sea-level. The points of triangulation embraced Jaffa, Jerusalem, and the Dead Sea, at the south; and Cape Blanco, Safed, and Lake Tiberias, at the north.[3] Valuable as have been the labours of von Schubert, de Bertou, Russegger, Moore, Beke, De Molineux, and von Wildenbruch, they can be regarded as merely preliminary to the perfected efforts which have been made under the auspices of the English Government.

It may not be unprofitable to specify some of the illustrated works which have contributed to our more complete knowledge of the Holy Land.

Eighty very beautiful views of the most striking landscapes in Palestine, executed on steel by the celebrated artist Bartlett.[4]

[1] *Berlin Monatsber. der geograph. Gesellsch. das* 4 *Jahrg.* 1843, Tab. 1, p. 125.

[2] Murchison, *Address, etc.* 1844, p. cxxiii.; and 1845, p. cviii. [It should be added that Ritter's wish has now been accomplished.—ED.]

[3] W. R. Hamilton, *Address, etc.* 22d May 1843, p. lxxiv.

[4] *The Christian in Palestine, or Scenes of Sacred History, Historical and Descriptive*, by H. Stebbing; illustrated from sketches taken on the spot by W. H. Bartlett, London.

By the same artist, in folio form, *Comparative View of the Situation and Extent of ancient and modern Jerusalem;* from sketches taken on the spot by W. H. Bartlett, and lithographed by J. C. Bourne, London.

The views taken by the Scotch painter, David Roberts,[1] are of the very highest order of merit, giving a faithful representation not only of the landscape, but also of the architecture of the country.

In addition to these excellent authorities relating to the geography of Palestine, there is another class to be added, the same which is met in all the other ancient homes of civilisation, namely that derived from architecture, inscriptions, and coins,[2] although such are less common here than in many other countries where the arts once flourished. They will be referred to in subsequent pages, for the study of them has progressed to a considerable extent. The architecture of the Romans is discriminated from that of the Saracens and Crusaders, and a large number of inscriptions have been successfully deciphered.[3]

[Taking up this point where Ritter has left it, I subjoin a list of all works, important papers, and maps relating to the Holy Land between the commencement of 1852 and the close of 1865. It is believed that the catalogue is nearly perfect.—Ed.]

De St Martin: Les vieux Voyageurs à la Terre Sainte d'en xiv^{me} and xvi^{me} Siècle. Nouv. Annal. d. Voy. 1853.

Strauss, F. A.: Sinai und Golgotha.

Recentes explorations faites en diveres parties de la Palestine depuis le voyage de Smith et Robinson: 1. Recherches du

[1] *La Terre Sainte, Vues et Monuments*, recueillis par David Roberts, de l'Academie Roy. de Londres, avec une description historique sur chaque Planche, edit. Bruxelles, Soc. de Beaux Arts, folio, 1843-1845, 10 Livraisons.

[2] A. Boeckh, *Corpus Inscript. Græcarum*, vol. iii. Fascic. i. Berolini, fol. 1844; Pars xxvi. Sec. v. *Palæstina, Trachonitis, et Auronitis*, fol. 244-274, from No. 4537 to 4666, ed. by J. Franz.

[3] *Theatrum bellorum a cruce signatis gestorum, quo scriptores illorum temporum, præsertim Archiepisc. Will. Tyrensis facilius intelligerentur, mandatu Regiæ Inscr. et humanior. Letter. Academ. disposuit et æri incidit.* J. S. Jacobs. 1842.

Capt. Newbold aux environs de Jerusalem. Nouv. Annal. de Voy. 1852–53.

Schwartz, J.: Das heilige Land nach seiner ehemaligen und jetzigen geographischen Beschaffenheit.

Plitt, Th.: Skizzen aus einer Reise nach dem heiligen Land.

Schiferle, J.: Reise in das heilige Land.

Gehlen, F. J.: Aus den Erlebnissen und Forschungen eines Pilgers zum heil. Lande.

Gossler, H.: Pilgerreise nach Jerusalem.

Rathgeber, A.: Palästina.

Robinson, E.: Abriss einer Reise in Palästina in 1852.

Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgenland. Gesellsch. 1853.

Fisk, G.: A Pastor's Memorial of the Holy Land.

Cox, F. A.: The Geography, Topography, and Natural History of Palestine.

Guest, J. C.: Geographical and Historical Dictionary of Palestine.

Macdougal, T. St C.: Outlines descriptive of Modern Geography, and a Short Account of Palestine.

Bannister, J. T.: A Survey of the Holy Land.

Churton, H. B. W.: Thoughts on the Land of the Morning.

Cox, F. A.: Biblical Antiquities.

Wilbraham, C. P.: Description of Canaan.

Anderson, J.: Wanderings in the Land of Israel and the Wilderness of Sinai.

Three Weeks in Palestine and Lebanon.

Hahn-Hahn (Countess): From Jerusalem.

Terwecoren, E.: Bethléem, D'après les notes inédites de deux Voyageurs Belges.

An Excursion from Jericho to the Ruins of the ancient Cities of Geraza and Ammon.

Lynch, W. F.: The Narrative of the U. S. Expedition to the Jordan and the Dead Sea. Review in the Journal d. Savants, Sept. 1851 and Aug. 1852.

Lynch, W. F.: Official Report of the above.

De Saulcy, F.: Voyage autour de la Mer Morte et dans les terres bibliques, executé de Decembre 1850 à Avril 1851.

The same, translated and edited, with notes, by Count Edw. de Warren. Reviews of the same in the Dublin Rev. Oct. 1853, and the Athenæum, 1853.

De St Martin: Sur le Site de Tzoar ou Segor.
Delesserti, E.: Voyage aux villes maudites, Sodome, Gomorrhe, etc.
Tobler, T.: Denkblatter aus Jerusalem.
The same: Topographie von Jerusalem.
Zimpel, C. F.: Neue örtliche topographische Beleuchtung der heilig. Weltstadt Jerusalem.
Bartlett, W. H.: Walks about Jerusalem.
Mariti: Etat present de Jerusalem.
Michon: Authenticité du Saint-Sepulchre.
Bartlett: Forty Days in the Desert.
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Enault, L.: La Terre Sainte. The same, reviewed by Malte-Brun in Nouv. Annal. de Voy. 1855.

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CHAPTER III.

SEC. 2. THE LAND OF CANAAN WITH ITS INHABITANTS, AS EXISTING PREVIOUS TO THE CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY BY THE ISRAELITES.

I. NAMES: ARAM AND SYRIA; SYRIANS, ARAMÆANS, AND HEBREWS.

WITHOUT entering largely into an investigation regarding the universality of the appellations Aramæa and Syria,—the question being one eagerly disputed, the etymologies involved being very uncertain,[1] and the applications of the words themselves varying largely,—yet there are certain explanations to be made regarding the ancient names of places and people used in the country which now bears the name Palestine. For those names are in themselves historical documents of great value in acquiring a knowledge of the land and its inhabitants; and they cannot be passed over with neglect in this course of study, whether looked at from the point of view which I assume, or with reference to the facts which are drawn from a study of them. Although the name Shur, as the designation of a definite desert territory in the Sinai Peninsula, was brought to our knowledge particularly in connection with the transit of the children of Israel through it (Ex. xv. 22), and although Shur (giving rise to Shurians, Surians, or Syrians, who trace their descent through Aram from Nahor, Abraham's brother, Gen. xxii. 20–23) was the broader appellation given

[1] Hadr. Relandi *Palæstina*, *l.c.* viii. 43–48; G. Wahl, *Vorder und Mittel Asien*, 1795, Pt. i. pp. 299–327; Mannert, *Geog. d. Gr. und Rom.* Pt. vi. 1, 1799; *Palæstina und Syrien*, pp. 203, 432; Rosenmüller, *Syrien oder Aram*, in *Handbuch Bib. Alth.* vol. i. 232–321; G. B. Winer, *Biblischer Realworterbuch*, 3d ed. 1847; *Aram.* i. pp. 79–81; *Syria*, ii. pp. 555–559; *Assyria*, i. pp. 102–108.

to the whole country lying between the Euphrates and Egypt (Gen. xv. 18), and especially the eastern part of that broad tract, the scene of David's fierce battles (1 Sam. xxvii. 8),—the name, apparently, one indigenous in that region,—yet at a later period it was applied by foreigners, and especially by the Seleucidæ, the Greeks, Romans, Saracens, and Turks, to the country farther north, and under the form of *Συρία*, Syria, Suristan, Cœle-Syria, came into general usage. The name Aramæa, on the contrary, as a mere genealogical appellative, applied to the same territory, derived from Aram, a son of Shem, and always used in connection with people of Semitic stock, is altogether less prominently brought forward, and never was adopted by foreigners, although Strabo used it once, and although it is not absolutely unknown among Arabian authors.

The name Land of the Hebrews, or Ebrews, has only come into vogue since the time of Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* vii. 9, 6, etc.), although Heber or Eber is mentioned as one of the descendants of Shem (Gen. x. 21), who is spoken of as a father of all the children of Eber, among whom are included the sons of Joktan and the sons of Abraham. He is spoken of (Gen. xi. 16) by many in our day as a merely mythical personage, like so many others who are mentioned in heathen records. It is thought that the etymology of the expression Land of the Hebrews indicates a country of wanderers,[1] and may indicate a time when the people were immigrants; and such a name could only have been given them by the Canaanites, and may refer to their former residence beyond the Euphrates, the Mesopotamian Aram, the Haran whence Abraham came. Yet this view of the origin of the name Hebrews or Ebrews is a subject of dispute; and Ewald has conjectured[2] an ingenious etymology, connecting it with the Iberians found among the Caucasus. One ground of this hypothesis is, that the name of Arphaxad, the father of Eber, is still connected with the most northern province of Assyria, on the southern frontier of Armenia, and seems to point back to a northern home of the common stock, whose primitive name, dating from a most remote antiquity, was not supplanted when the children of Israel had conquered the country, and changed the entire character of the population.

[1] Rosenmüller, *i.a.l.* i. p. 69.

[2] Ewald, *Geschichte des Volks Israel*, Pt. i. 1843, pp. 332–335.

It is a noteworthy fact in corroboration of this, that in the oldest records the name Land of the Ebrews or Hebrews is very rare; it occurs in Gen. xl. 15, where Joseph is telling the story of his coming out of his own country. The expression is shunned in the Bible, even when the primitive Hebrew people, writings, and language are spoken of.

Of far greater geographical and ethnographical import is the name the Land and People of Canaan, which takes us back to the gloomy vestibule of Palestine proper and its history, and to its condition before the children of Israel became the possessors of the country, and while the struggle was still going on in which the name of Israel had even to struggle for existence.

II. THE LAND OF CANAAN AND THE CANAANITES IN RELATION TO PHŒNICIA AND THE PHŒNICIANS.[1]

If Aram, or Aramæa, used in the strict sense of the most ancient period, was the term employed to designate the regions north and east of Lebanon, and towards the Euphrates and Mesopotamia, the name Canaan or Cenaan is the one generally employed to designate the district farther south.

The country received its name from Canaan, the fourth son of Ham (Gen. x. 6, 15–19); and it is mentioned specifically for the first time in the account of the coming of Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees first to Haran, and then to Shechem and Hebron. Among the expressions used in the Bible (Gen. xi. 31, xii. 6, xxiii. 19), we find this one, "And the Canaanite dwelt then in the land." The oldest specification of the limits of the country is that which is given in direct connection with the names of the various tribes (Gen. x. 15–19): "And Canaan begat Sidon his first-born, and Heth, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite, and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite, and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite: and afterward were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad. And the border of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou goest unto Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha" (later Kallirhoe, on the north-eastern side of the Dead Sea). The southern border indicated

[1] H. Relandi, i. 1-8.

here is the one which in the former volume I showed is the one formed by nature between Palestine and the deserts of Arabia Petræa.

When the children of Israel approached this country, and were about to divide it among the tribes, its boundaries were more definitely laid down (Num. xxxiv. 2–13). The corner towards the south or south-east was to begin at the desert of Zin near Edom, and to run along the eastern coast of the Dead Sea up to Akrabbim and through Zinna; and the "going forth" was to be from the south to Kadesh-Barnea, Adar or Arad or Addar, a place variously spelled, through Azmon, and thence to the river of Egypt, or brook which ran into the sea at el-Arish. The western border was to be the Mediterranean. The northern frontier line ran from the sea to Mount Hor (not the mountain of Aaron named in Num. xxxiii. 38, but Hermon or Lebanon), thence to Hamath and Enan (Enan, terminus Damasci: Hieron. *Onomast.*), therefore in the neighbourhood of Damascus. The line then ran to Sepham, to Riblah on the Orontes, the place where king Jehoahaz was taken captive by Pharaoh Necho; and then to Ain, between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, on the watershed between the Orontes and the Litani. Both of these last places have been recently discovered by Thomson.[1] From that point the boundary ran along the east side of the sea of Chinnereth, *i.e.* Tiberias, then to the Jordan, and lastly to the Dead Sea. The Jordan was therefore the natural boundary of Canaan; and, as Reland showed, the country to the east was not confounded with it. We have a proof of this in Num. xxxiii. 51, "When ye are passed over Jordan into the land of Canaan;" and in the account of the use of the manna as food (Ex. xvi. 35), "They did eat manna until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan." See also Josh. v. 12: "And the manna ceased on the morrow after they had eaten of the old corn of the land; neither had the children of Israel manna any more; but they did eat of the fruit of the land of Canaan that year."

According to this extension of the boundary of Canaan as far as to Sidon, the territory of the oldest son of Canaan, the

[1] W. M. Thomson, Letter on the Antiquities on the route from Baalbek to Hamath and Aleppo, in *Bib. Sacra*, vol. iv. 1847, pp. 404, 405, and Note, p. 408.

country of the Phœnicians must be embraced under the same general limits; and Chna, the Old Testament form of the name of Canaan, was in use among the Phœnicians, whose original founder's name — Phoinix (whence Phoinike and Phœnike)—closely corresponds to the word Chanaan, Chanaina, Chananaioi, Canaanites, from Chana.[1]

The land and the people bearing this double appellation came therefore, from the very first, into the closest mutual relation, which extended itself so far as to influence the condition of the children of Israel, whose lot it was to take possession of one portion of the country, to be united by some ties of alliance to a part of its inhabitants, and to overthrow and annihilate another part.

The Phœnicians, considered by Herodotus, Strabo, Justinus, and many other Greek and Roman writers, to be descended from the Persians, and to have entered the country by the way of the Red Sea, looked upon themselves as aboriginal to the soil, and considered their gods the primitive deities of the place. Their first cities and their first ships they claimed to have built on the shores of the Mediterranean. Their most ancient history did not pretend to extend beyond the name Chna or Phœnix, which was attached to their country, entirely in contrast to the Hebrews, who traced their lineage to the district beyond the Euphrates. This popular view of the Phœnicians, about which historians have striven[2] from the earliest to the present time, and which cannot be settled for want of sufficient evidence, harmonized at least with the view of the Israelites regarding the primitive inhabitants of Canaan. Movers, to whose admirable investigations in this department we are so much indebted, suggests as a very important point, that there is one very certain source of evidence in favour of this view, namely that traced in the manifest traditions of the people of Canaan at the time of the Israelitish conquest, when the story of an ancient emigration to Canaan, and the consequent banishment or extirpation of those taking part in it, could not have been extin-

[1] Movers, *Würdigung der Berichte über die Herkunft der Phönizier*, in Achterfeld and Braun, *Zeitsch. für Philos. und Kathol. Religion*, N. S. 1844, Jahrg. v. p. 7 et sq.; Buttmann, *Mythologus*, i. 223.

[2] Hengstenberg, *de Rebus Tyriorum*, Berol. 1832; in opposition to Bertheau, *Gesch. der Israeliten*, p. 163.

guished, had the effort failed. For the Mosaic records, and the books of Joshua, Samuel, and Judges, which occasionally touch upon this view, date from a period when a great portion of the population of Canaan lived in such close contact with the Israelites, that the history of the country prior to its capture must have been freely imparted to them. According to these authorities, the Canaanites west of the Jordan constituted a single nation, occupying the country from the time of the flood, and broken up into various tribes, whose primitive ancestor, a descendant of Noah, took possession of the country with his sons, of whom Sidon was the oldest. They are a distinct stock, therefore, from the later immigrants, the Philistines, Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites, and must be discriminated from them. Their primitive claim to the land of Canaan was recognised by the old Israelitish patriarchs, by Abraham at Hebron, by Jacob at Shechem (Gen. xxxiii. 19), and was testified by the regular purchase of land. As for the races of giants, such as the sons of Anak and the like, who once in a while appear upon the scene, and who have been considered by some as a more ancient race of possessors still, there is no proof, even if they were not true mythic Titans, that they preceded the immigration of the Canaanites, although they gradually disappeared before them. Yet other races are named as occupying the country in the primeval period of its history, who were probably extirpated at the time of the conquest effected by the sons of Eber or Heber.

On the eastern frontier of Canaan, for example, the Emims, Zamzummims, and Horims, are spoken of as destroyed by the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites (Deut. ii. 10–12, and 19, 20), and upon the west side the Avims at Hazerim were compelled to yield to the Philistines (Deut. ii. 23); but we never hear of Canaanitish tribes in this connection. The existence of Canaanites on the Mediterranean—that is, of Phœnicians—and of the same race in the interior, as confirmed by the views of the Israelitish invaders, is an important historical fact in connection with the relation between the land and the people. The Phœnician, like the Hebrew name Chna, written in the Alexandrian form Chanaan, Canaan, signifies, according to its etymology, *terra depressa*, lowland,[1]—an expres-

[1] Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterthumsk.* i. pp. 75, 76.

sion in contrast with Aram, high land (probably along the upper Euphrates), and harmonizing, it may be, with the nature of the country thus named; especially as a third form in common use, O-Chna (Ochna), designated the coast of Canaan, a lowland district corresponding to the strip of plain running the most of the way from Gaza to Sidon, and on which lay the great commercial cities of the land.

Movers,[1] in his admirable investigations regarding the land of Canaan, remarks, however, that in profane writers Phœnicia extends beyond the two cities of Tyre and Sidon, and embraces the territory of Aradus, Byblus, and Berytus, at the north, and extends towards the interior as far as Lebanon. If this is true, the signification of the name Canaan as lowland by no means corresponds to the physical character of Phœnicia, and is still less adapted to describe the interior of Palestine, which is rather a mountain land than the reverse. Moses has well depicted its character (Deut. xi. 11), where he says: "But the land whither ye go to possess it is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven." The conjecture is therefore a very natural one, that the name Canaan was originally applied to a very much smaller district than at a later time, as was the case with Argos. The primitive name, boundaries, and condition of Canaan throw much light upon the state of the country just prior to its conquest by the Israelites, and lead to a far more certain knowledge of its geographical character than we could otherwise attain. This method is the most secure guide between the past and the present of Palestine.

The application by Isaiah of the term "cities of Canaan" to Tyre and Sidon; the modern identification of the word merchant with Canaanite, which must have referred to the ancient commercial importance of the Phœnician cities; the allusion in Gen. x. 15 to Sidon, the oldest son of Canaan; and the constant pre-eminence which is given to the name Sidon, all through the Old Testament, in respect to age, power, and splendour, show that in the primitive use of the word the term Canaan was closely connected with Sidon and Sidonian Tyre. And this view is confirmed by the etymology of the word,

[1] Movers, *über die Bedeutung des Namens Canaan*, in the journal quoted above, v. pp. 21–43.

which in its rudimentary form signifies a plain, and probably refers to the tract of level land ten or eleven hours' journey long, and an hour's journey broad, which follows the shore, lying between the Promontorium Album, three hours south of Sur (Tyre), and Nahr el Auli (Bostrenus), an hour north of Said (Sidon).

Yet the name Canaan never was confined for any length of time to this contracted district, but was applied at different times to a tract of such varying extent, that incorrect ideas regarding it rose naturally, which we must understand if we would comprehend the character of the different classes of population which inhabited it.

The northern frontier of Canaan—which was never more exactly laid down than in the account given in Num. xxxiv. 7, already referred to, and which, excepting during the reigns of David and Solomon, was never free from strifes between Israel and the adjacent nations—we are only able to trace in full from the records of Persian and Roman writers, while the boundary line on the east and south is fully described in the Jewish records.

During the time of the Persians, according to Herodotus, Phœnicia, with Cyprus and with the Palestine portion of Syria, made the fifth department in the Persian Empire. It began in the north, on the southern border of the Cilician territory, at Poseidon[1] (Poseida in Pococke, now Cape Busseit, south of the mouth of the Orontes), a place founded by the colonists from Argos, and extended southward as far as to the Egyptian frontier. As the Persians continued to the Phœnicians their former rights and privileges, it is but natural to suppose that they retained intact the ancient boundaries; and if so, Phœnicia extended northward as far as to the mouth of the Orontes; and Laodicea (now Latakieh) and many other places — Gobala, Heraclea, Paltus, Balanea, Karne — were reckoned as belonging to Phœnicia, yet are now known to have been also considered as a part of Canaan.

At a later period, after the accession of the Seleucidæ, and during the triumph of the Roman power, the river Eleutheros, now Nahr el Kebir, between Aradus and Tripolis (Ruad and Tarablus), became, according to Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy,

[1] Mannert, *Geogr. de Gr. und Rom.* vol. vi.; *Upper Syria*, p. 452.

the northern frontier of Phœnicia, which may have continued to be so regarded subsequently to that ancient period when the Phœnician inhabitants of Aradus pushed their territorial limits far beyond that stream. Yet, however old that extension towards the north may have been, it had no relation to the "low land" of Phœnicia, nor to the primitive limits of Canaan, from which, in the Old Testament, the three northern cities of Phœnicia—Aradus, Berytus, and Byblus—were expressly excluded. According to Gen. x. 19, no tribes of Canaanitish or Phœnician blood lived along the sea-coast north of Sidon. The inhabitants of the Lebanon too, the Giblites (Josh. xiii. 15), who lived in the domain under the control of Byblus and Berytus, were never spoken of as Canaanitish in their origin,—a fact which explains what has been learned but recently regarding their religious and social condition.[1] The independent extension of the Phœnician territory northward, beyond the limits of the ancient "lowland of Canaan," is indicated in the Mosaic record, in connection with Aradus (Arvadi), Arka (Arki), Sin (Sini), Simyra (Zemari), Hamath (Hamathi), by the expression, Gen. x. 18, "And afterward were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad." The Sidonian colonies worked northward, and planted themselves at Arad, Botrys, Tripolis, and elsewhere,[2] carrying the name of Phœnicia with them, but not the name of Canaan.

The Southern and Eastern Boundaries.

If the northern limits of Canaan seem somewhat unsettled, and enlarge themselves somewhat indefinitely, in the south they have a compensatory construction, through the violent entrance of foreign tribes, who remained in possession of the country, and who had in some cases, as in that of the Philistines for example, taken possession prior to the Israelitish conquest. That region was taken into the reckoning at the time of the division by lot among the tribes, because it was included among the districts which had previously belonged to Canaan (Deut.

[1] F. E. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, Bonn 1811, vol. i. p. 3 et seq.

[2] Bochart, *Geogr. Sacr.* P. ii.; *Chanaan*, s. *de Coloniis Phœnicum*, *Opp.* 1692, fol. 351; Hamacker, *Miscellanea Phœnic.* Lugd. Bat. 1828, lib. vi. 116-307; O. G. Tychsen, *Geogr. Verbreitung phönicischer Münzen*, in T. Hartmann, Bremen 1820, Pt. ii. p. 496 et seq.

ii. 23). In Joshua's time, however, when he was "old and stricken with years," the country extended from the brook el-Arish, known as the river of Egypt, over the whole district of the Pentapolis, Gaza, Ashdod, Askelon, Gath, and Ekron (now Akir, south of Joppa and east of Yabna, Jamnia), according to Robinson.[1] The Philistines could claim, therefore, to be considered as Canaanites, although they did not extend so far north as to the Phœnician territory, which, according to the classic authors, Josephus, Pliny, Ptolemy, and others (Strabo not included), reached as far southward as the place where Cæsarea was afterwards built, but no farther, since the little known patch of sea-coast between Cæsarea and Ekron, in which the harbour of Joppa alone excited the attention or interest of foreigners, was reckoned as a part of Syrian Palestine. Pliny says, v. 14: Cæsarea . . . finis Palæstinæ . . . deinde Phœnice. Carmel is called in Josephus a Tyrian, and in Hesychius a Phœnician, mountain; older references to this lower district are lacking both in sacred and profane writings; and nothing definite can now be settled regarding it, excepting that the northern border of the Philistines seems never to have met the southern border of the Phœnicians. The people who lived in the intermediate district, and whose wars and aggressions are recounted in the book of Judges (see iii. 3), can only be reckoned among the Canaanites. And although the places lying more to the south—Joppa, Jamnia, Askelon, and Gaza—are spoken of by writers, from Pliny to Stephen Byz., as Phœnician, yet it is only in that broader use of the word which confounded Phœnicia with Canaan as the one land promised to Israel (Num. xxxiv. 5; Josh. xv. 4, 47). Procopius,[2] who wrote long afterwards, used language in a general way (*Bell. Vandal.* ii. 10, 449), when he says that in the most remote antiquity (he means the time of Joshua) Phœnicia extended from Sidon to the Egyptian frontier. It may be assumed as certain, that the people who lived on the coast received the name of Canaanites from the same physical peculiarity which has been mentioned as giving rise to it farther north,—namely, its low, plain-like character; and along the whole coast there are no tribes mentioned which were not of

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 227.

[2] Hadr. Reland, *Pal.* p. 50.

Canaanitish origin, with the exception of the Philistines, who had broken into the country by violence, and settled there.

It is very different with the eastern from the southern and western frontier: there can hardly be a true eastern boundary definitely spoken of, unless it be the great Jordan valley. There is no ground for believing that the aboriginal inhabitants of the central mountain region ever used the name Palestine, which, as has been already shown, was applied to the lowland district alone, and was first used by foreigners in connection with the level region along the coast, and especially by the Egyptians, in consequence of their commercial relations with the cities on the shore. It may be considered equally certain, that the Phœnicians never applied the name Canaan to the interior country: there is no proof that they did so; and had they given it a name which was used in connection with their own domain at all, they would have called it Phœnice, which corresponded completely to the word Canaan, and applied that designation to the whole of Judæa. I may remark incidentally, that what was called the Paralia, answers only to the designation Palm-land, receiving its name, according to Calisthenes,[1] *ὅτι ἀπὸ Φοινίκων τῆς Συρίας τῶν παραλίαν οἰκούντων, τὸ φυτὸν ἔλαβε τὴν προσηγορίαν*; and Reland adds: Quod ad nomen attinet Phœnices, id a palmis esse ductum, mihi videtur verisimile.

It is not at all supposable that the aboriginal inhabitants of that Palestine mountain-land called themselves Canaanites, *i.e.* Lowlanders, even although they may have been of the same primitive stock; and all the less that they were divided into countless tribes, having no unity of purpose, as is evident from the manifest want of a common purpose and of combined counsels at the time of the Israelitish conquest. And if the whole country this side of the Jordan is sometimes designated as Canaan in the Old Testament Scriptures, it must be explained by some special circumstances, unless it be a sufficient explanation that the etymological signification of the word had long disappeared, and the use of the word prevailing in Egypt had been arbitrarily transferred to the whole of Palestine.

But Movers[2] has shown, that in all the Bible passages the

[1] Aristotelis *de mirab. ausc.* ed. J. Beckmann, Gott. 1736, p. 292; H. Reland, *Pal.* p. 50.

[2] Movers, *i.a.l.* p. 41.

word Canaan was applied as an obsolete name to the territory this side the Jordan, and was used by the Israelites before they became familiar with that fact; and after their conquest of the country it was employed only archaically, to designate its previous condition. All the Hebrew writers, from Josephus back, speak of the land of Canaan only when they refer to the primitive inhabitants of the land, or refer to the wanderings of the old patriarchs in it, or recount the promises of God, and their fulfilment. Where these conditions do not exist, they employ other names, like the land of Israel, and the land of Jehovah. It was impossible for the old name to remain after the physical condition of the country was understood; and we find, accordingly, that at an early date the Israelites learned the etymological signification of the word Canaan: for in speaking of the Hittites, the Jebusites, and the Amorites, dwellers in the mountains were referred to; while the Canaanites are said to have dwelt by the sea and by the coast of Jordan (Num. xiii. 29). So, too, Joshua (xi. 3) speaks of "the Canaanite on the east and on the west," referring to the people on the coast and in the Jordan valley; and in most of the noteworthy passages in the book of Joshua, the low district near Jericho stands in close connection with the term Canaan, and in contrast with the mountain land of Gilead. We find the same in the allusions to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, in Num. xxxiii. 51 and Josh. xxii. I need not tell the reader that the later fathers, and the whole ecclesiastical literature which followed, have given to the name Canaan a signification entirely different from its primitive one.

III. THE PRIMITIVE POPULATION OF THE COUNTRY PRIOR TO ITS POSSESSION BY THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL.

Exactly in accordance with the reputed origin of the word Canaan, as the Lowland of the region now called Palestine, is the traditional account of the first settlement of the sons of Canaan directly after the Flood. Their names were borne by the cities which they built,—for example, Aradus, Arke, Sin, Simyra, Hamath,—while other personal appellatives were given to local districts, like Shechem, Eshcol, and Mamre. On the contrary, whole tribes—like the Giblites, the dwellers in moun-

tains; the Sidonians, or the race of fishermen—bore names which were indigenous, and had gods[1]—Baal, Astarte, Baaltis, Cosmos, Aion, Protogonos, Casius, Lebanon—of their own, and not imported from abroad. This was in strong contrast with the Hebrews and Israelites, who traced their history, their origin, their God even (who had already been the God of Abraham in Ur of the Chaldees), and all their traditions, to Inner Asia. And so we have two successive populations of one and the same land, both connected with the Semitic stock, yet displaying the greatest antagonism, and living in lasting hatred and contention. The want of all traditional information regarding the connection of the people of Canaan with the other Semitic tribes, seems to display itself very early in the genealogical record of the Canaanites as the descendants of Ham.[2] I refer to the well-known Mosaic list of races, according to which the Hebrews traced their relationship through Eber to Shem, and yet the Hebrews and the Canaanites speak the same dialect. The Hebrews identified no close ties between these two races, as they did between the Aramæan and the most of the Arabian tribes—the sons of Joctan, Himyarites, for example. The mention of Canaan as brother of Mizraim, the head of the Egyptian race, and of Cush, the head of the Cushites, could not probably be made without some reference to the Canaanitish ideas of their national origin; for if the separation of the Canaanites from the more eastern Semitic tribes had been of very early origin, all trace of the primitive unity would have been lost. The kindred tribes descended from Eber, and those who afterwards became the nomadic Hebrews, preserved the Aramæan dialect of the Semitic language, from which the Arabian had already broken loose; but the Canaanites must long before have lost sight of the connection which bound them to the common stock, since the Hebrews, who emigrated to Palestine in the time of Abraham, found the Canaanites thus early a people claiming to have been long resident there, independent of the Aramæan and Arabian dialects, and possessing a language which passed over more or less fully to the Hebrew patriarchs, as we find demonstrated by the real unity existing between the Hebrew and Phœnician languages. A

[1] Movers, *Die Phönicier passim*, and *Zeitschr. i.a.l.* p. 4 et sq.

[2] Movers, *Die alten Canaaniter*, in *Zeitsch.* N. F. Jahrg. vi. pp. 59–88.

very remarkable exchange of a mother tongue at so early a period, and one which would be hard to explain and hard to believe possible as happening to a whole people, but which probably resulted, as Movers[1] has shown, from the speedy and complete transfer of a closely united community like that of Abraham into a new atmosphere of language. To this undoubtedly the frequent marriage relations entered into with the people of the country contributed (Gen. xxxviii., xxxiv. 2; Judg. xxi. 12; Ezra x. 18-44).

In order to understand the character of the primitive population of Palestine, and the really unequal nature of the contest which brought the country into the possession of Israel, it is important to observe, that the so-called Canaanites cannot be regarded as a body of tribes closely united from the very beginning, but, so far as we can now ascertain, they were rent up into countless factions, and presented an instance of unexampled want of nationality. The very want of a common name to call them by is a remarkable phenomenon; for Canaan, a term given by foreigners, is merely one drawn from the lowlands of the country, and is applied to those tribes which were not of Semitic origin, and were connected with the Egyptians, without any pretence to a proper application to those which did not belong to the Lowland, or Canaan, in the most limited use of the term. According to this, the descendants of Jebus (the Jebusites of the mountain land around Jerusalem), of Amor (the Amorites on the east side of the Jordan), of Girgas (the Girgashites on both banks of the Jordan), of Hiv (the Hivites in North Galilee), and of Hamath (on the east side of Anti-Lebanon), have only a nominal connection with the Canaanites, and are not to be understood to be of the same stock.

This view is supported by the fact, that every king was the possessor of his own little domain. In northern Canaan, Joshua mentions thirty-one kings by name; and the book of Judges (i. 7) speaks of seventy kings of the Canaanites who were conquered by the tribe of Judah. Countless fortresses and armed bodies of men, compelled to yield before the advance of the shepherd race of Israel, without any knowledge of war, had for centuries been engaged in mutual contest; and yet one

[1] Movers, *Die alten Canaaniter*, in *Zeitsch.* N. F. Jahrg. vi. p. 62 et sq.

kingdom after another was reduced, and the whole country brought into subjection, in consequence of the want of a common head, and a common bond of unity against the general foe, to which there seems to be no exception, save among the Philistines and in the case of Jabin king of Hazor, who summoned his neighbours, and met Joshua at the waters of Merom (Josh. xi. 1–6). This hasty combination, however, was to no effect, for there was no deep central principle of unity that could give security in time of danger.

It is only from the violent convulsions which rent the Canaanite tribes in the most remote antiquity, that we can understand how widely sundered they were at the time of the invasion of their territory by the Israelites, and how scattered were single tribes in some cases,—as, for example, the Hivites, a portion of whom lived in the north, another in the middle, and another in the south of Palestine, as we gather from the scattered notices of them in the earliest books of the Bible. The Kenizzites, too, were found in various parts of the south, rent by internal faction, and scattered through Judæa and Edom. The Geshurites, whose boundaries extended from Hermon to Bashan (Josh. xii. 5; Deut. iii. 14), appear also in the south country near the Philistine territory (Josh. xiii. 12; 1 Sam. xxvii. 8), near the Egyptian frontier, where David met and overcame them. It is just so with the Girgashites and with the powerful tribe of the Amorites, who possessed a large territory beyond the Jordan (Deut. ii. 24), and at the same time occupied a domain in the mountain land around Jerusalem, and sent out the five kings who were overthrown at Gibeon (Josh. x. 5).

Among all these Canaanitish tribes there existed no genealogical tradition giving rise to a general belief in a descent from a former patriarchal head, as there was among the other Semitic tribes, who called themselves sons of Ammon, of Edom, of Moab, of Israel, and the like. Even among the descendants of Sidon this was not the case; and they did not speak of themselves as children of Sidon, but as Sidonim, and made no more mention of Sidon as the founder of the city and state, than of Hierosolymus or Carchedon as the founders of Jerusalem and Carthage. The Hittites alone form an exception to this general rule: they traced their lineage back to Heth

(Gen. x. 15), were called sons of Heth by the Israelites, and were held in a good degree of respect (Gen. xxiii. 5, 7).

From what has now been said, it will readily be seen, although the data are very incomplete regarding these so-called Canaanite tribes, that they cannot be distinguished by any special characteristics of language, religion, or government from the neighbouring tribes, and not even by physical boundaries, since they occupied in some cases—that of the Amorites, for example—both sides of the Jordan. Yet, notwithstanding such occasional exceptions, the district east of the Jordan was never reckoned as belonging to Canaan; nor were its inhabitants ever included among the Canaanites, although their names are mentioned as such in the list found in Genesis.

IV. SPECIFICATION OF THE TRIBES OF CANAAN IN ITS BROADEST SENSE: THE PERIZZITES, HITTITES, HIVITES, AMORITES, GIRGASHITES, AND JEBUSITES.

The circumstances already mentioned show how important it is to gather up what historical facts we can regarding the various tribes which possessed Canaan, in order to understand the nature of the country in which Israel found its permanent home.

We know as little of the immigration of the tribes which inhabited the interior highland region of Palestine, as of those which settled the lowland, or Canaan proper; but there are so many passages in the Old Testament which hint at their condition, that we are not without the means of determining with a considerable degree of accuracy, what subdivisions those tribes were broken into, and what successive processes of conquest and extermination they were subjected to: for the gathering up into the record which we now possess of the incidents which occurred in the time of the patriarchs, took place at a period when the recollection of the successive changes in the character of the country and its population could not have been wholly lost.

The condition of the inhabitants of Canaan at the time of the patriarchs must have been very different from what it was five hundred years later, at the time of Moses. The land was sparsely covered with dwellings, and but thinly populated:

herdsmen with their families wandered through it freely from one end to the other. When Abraham took up his abode near Bethel, he said to his nephew Lot, at parting with him, "Is not the whole land before thee?" Abraham went to the south, to Pharan, and dug wells for himself at Beersheba; and at a later day, Jacob went with just as little hindrance along the east side of the Jordan to Gilead, crossing the Jabbok at its ford, and set up his huts or booths in Succoth (Gen. xxxi. 47, xxxii. 22, xxxiii. 17).

At the time of Abraham there existed but very few of those cities with which Canaan was covered at the time of Moses; and the few which were standing received their names from persons then living, such as Shechem, from the chief of the Hivites (Gen. xxxiv. 2); Mamre, from the brother of Eshcol and Aner, the Amorite (Gen. xiv. 13, 24). Hebron alone seems to go back to the remotest antiquity. It is mentioned as the place where Sarah died (Gen. xxiii. 2). It was built seven years before Zoan (San, *i.e.* Tanis in Egypt), and kept its primitive name, while other places lost them when a new people took possession of them,—as, for example, Luz, whose name Jacob changed to Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 19).

There is not a trace to be found in the old patriarchal records, of those warlike cities, and those bold, well-armed, and defiant tribes whom Joshua encountered five hundred years later: for after Lot had been taken captive by Chedorlaomer, we find that Abraham was able, with the three hundred and eighteen servants who were born in his house, to pursue the enemy of his kinsman, to overcome him easily, to pursue him to Dan and Hobah near Damascus, and to take from him all his goods (Gen. xiv. 15). The inhabitants of the land at that early period appear to have been a peace-loving people, from whom the early Hebrews received no injury, but only kindness, as in the case of Melchisedec king of Salem (xiv. 18, xxxiv. 8). The Philistines, on the contrary, were a hostile race, and in Jacob's time closed the wells, that the Hebrew patriarch might have no water for his flocks (Gen. xxvi. 15, 16). The princes of the country were then not at all the warlike kings whom the Israelites encountered, and they made no objection to the peaceful entrance of the nomadic Hebrews who chose to settle among them.

1. *The Perizzites.*

According to the biblical account, there were, at the time of the patriarchs, but two radically different primitive classes of population—the Canaanites and the Perizzites. In the account of the parting of Abraham from Lot, we read, "The Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelt then in the land." This sharp distinction is repeated in two subsequent passages (Judg. i. 4, 5), where, after the death of Joshua, these two different races are named as existing in southern Judea. The omission of the important tribe of the Perizzites in the enumeration of the peoples of Canaan, Gen. x., is therefore not accidental, as they were regarded as radically different from them, and as such had their own special place in the list of tribes, after the most important Canaanitic names (Ex. xxxiv. 11; Judg. iii. 5). The Perizzites seemed to be distinguished from the Canaanites, who lived in cities, by their nomadic habits; and even the etymology of their name, which signifies the separated, affords proof that they were the Beduins of that time, and shows that in the most remote periods there existed the same contrast which we now find among Arabs and Syrians.

Besides the Canaanites, who are distinguished from the wandering Perizzites by their more regular and settled habits, their political condition, and their residence in towns, we find mentioned only two important races living in the country at the time of the patriarchs—the Hittites and the Hivites: there is no mention as yet of the Amorites, who afterwards became so powerful and important, and who pushed their way northwards from the desert of Paran (Gen. xiv. 7, 13; Judg. i. 34, 36).

2. *The Hittites.*[1]

These are the oldest, and probably, at a remote period, the only inhabitants of the interior of Palestine. The coupling of their founder's name Heth (Chet) with that of Sidon in the list of tribes contained in Genesis, indicates their extreme antiquity; and in almost all successive enumerations, they take the first place after the Canaanites proper—that is, the Phœnicians—and only in two places are the Amorites named before them. Never,

[1] Ewald, *Gesch.* i. p. 281.

as Movers shows, are other tribes—such as the Girgashites, Jebusites, Hivites, and others—ranked before them. And yet at the time of the conquest of Canaan they were by no means the most formidable warriors, for the Amorites were the most powerful tribe. Indeed, at the time of Moses, they were quite insignificant: no cities are mentioned as belonging to them; they are not named separately as enemies of Israel, but always in connection with other tribes; while the cities of the Canaanites, Amorites, Hivites, and Jebusites, are often spoken of as waging war independently against Israel. But the old place of honour was always assigned to this ancient and powerful tribe, notwithstanding its subsequent want of importance.

The Hittites played an important part at the time of Abraham, when they were lords of the district around Hebron. They were a people of gentle habits, living in well-regulated communities; and their intercourse with the ancient Hebrew patriarch was marked with the greatest courtesy during the negotiations for Sarah's burying-place (Gen. xxiii.). We read that Abraham displayed the greatest reverence before them (Gen. xxiii. 7): "He bowed himself to the children of the land, even to the children of Heth; and he communed with them." The rest of the chapter relates in full the history of the transaction. It is a remarkable fact that it was the Hittites who were in possession of Hebron, the most ancient city in the land, and a place built even before the oldest Egyptian city. The connection by marriage of Esau, the founder of the Edomites, with the daughters of the Hittites (Gen. xxvi. 34), confirms the high antiquity and the early importance of the tribe. They were the oldest, and in the beginning probably the only, lords of the land, the nomadic Jebusites excepted, since the people named second to them—the Hivites—settled only subsequently in the interior of the country. In the single place (Josh. i. 4) where the whole land of promise, "from the wilderness and this Lebanon, even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of Euphrates, and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun," is connected with the tribe of Hittites, the language appears to be used archaically, and to refer to the primitive power of the tribe. At a very remote period[1] the Hittites seem to have been divided, and to have

[1] Gesenius, *Comment. zu Jesaias*, i. p. 722.

sent[1] one colony to Cyprus, if that be the island of Chittim (Ezek. xxvii. 6), or the land of Chittim (Isa. xxiii. 1).

At the time of the conquest of Palestine by Israel, the Hittites do not appear as the lords of the land. Scattered remnants of the tribe, however, are mentioned as late as the time of David; for Uriah (mentioned in 2 Sam. xi. 3, xxiii. 39) was a Hittite. Solomon brought all the remnants of the conquered tribes into bondage (1 Kings ix. 20); and the kings of the Hittites mentioned in x. 29 are not to be connected with Palestine, but with Cyprus or Chittim. And the passage in Judg. i. 26, which speaks of the building of Luz, in the land of the Hittites, refers to the same island; for that tribe was never found so far north as Bethel, and "the man" who "went into the land of the Hittites" must have removed from Palestine to Cyprus.

3. *The Hivites.*

This tribe, the second of the primitive Canaanitic ones, was a mountain people, and had its true home in the Lebanon. Josh. xi. 3 locates the Hivites near Mount Hermon, in the land of Mizpeh, *i.e.* between Jebel Sheikh and the sources of the Jordan; and Judg. iii. 3 is more definite still in its language: "The Hivites that dwelt in Mount Lebanon, from Mount Baal-hermon unto the entering in of Hamath." They are mentioned as living there as late as the time of king David (2 Sam. xxiv. 7), and it is possible that in this northern mountain land they were a powerful people (Josh. ix. 1); but in the southern part of the country, conquered by the Israelites, they were not strong. Their geographical location readily explains the fact, that in the enumeration of the tribes of Palestine the Hivites always have the last place but one, and come just before the still weaker tribe of Jebusites, and that in the full list contained in Gen. xv. they are not mentioned at all. Yet they appear sometimes in connection with localities at the south, and removed a long distance from their real mountain home,—as at Shechem, for example, where they had had a settlement for a long time, and where Jacob bought a piece of land of a Hivite, in order to build a habitation upon it (Gen. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 2). They had another city still farther to the south,

[1] Movers, vi. pp. 80-84.

and in the territory subsequently assigned to Benjamin—Gibeon, now Djeb, three hours distance north of Jerusalem (Josh. ix. 3, 7, 15). Ewald[1] suspects that the name signifies a "community" in the Canaanitish language. This city, which was independent, preserved its existence, but was brought into vassalage to Israel, and compelled to be hewers of wood and bearers of water for the temple of Jehovah. There were also Hivites farther south, who connected themselves by marriage ties with the Edomites, as the Hittites had done. They seem, therefore, to have been a race of powerful mountaineers, who embraced every opportunity to force their way southward, and were able in some instances to take up and hold a position surrounded by other and perhaps hostile tribes, and even to maintain themselves against such enemies as the Israelites themselves, as they did in the case of Gibeon. The greatness of this city, the warlike training of its citizens, their republican constitution,[2] while all the surrounding cities were under the rule of kings (Josh. ix. 1, x. 1, 2), were peculiar to the Hivites; while their religious rites in the tower of Shechem, in the house of the god Berith (Judg. ix. 46, ix. 4, viii. 33), or El,[3] their highest divinity, show their connection with the Canaanitish stock.

4. *The Amorites.*[4]

Although mentioned in the list of Gen. x. in connection with the other Canaanitic tribes, the Amorites do not appear to have been an independent people in the primitive patriarchal times. It is only later that they become important, and they are always mentioned as secondary in note to the sons of Heth, or Hittites. But in the Mosaic period they stand forth as the most powerful and most warlike tribe of the Canaanites. Although, with regard to the races already mentioned, we have only faint glimpses of their early history, and only discern their settlements scattered over the country, and surrounded by a

[1] Ewald, *Gesch.* i. p. 283. [2] The same, p. 282.

[3] Movers, p. 79; and *die Phönizier*, pp. 255–316.

[4] Movers, vi. pp. 84–87; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterthums.* ii. p. 255; Gesenius, in *Ersch. Encycl.* iii. p. 382; Winer, *Bibl. Realw.* i. 54; Ewald, *Gesch. des Volks Israel*, ii. 204, 208, etc.

[5] Winer, *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*, 3d ed. 1847, i. and ii.

still more ancient race of Anakim and Rephaim, yet, says Movers, it is very apparent that the Amorites entered the country not long before the Israelitish conquest, and took possession of both sides of the Jordan. They probably came from a country at the south-east. In the oldest mention of them they are always connected with the Amalekites, who came from Arabia Petræa, and were overcome by Chedorlaomer at the time of Lot in the valley of Siddim, at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea (Gen. xiv. 7). They dwelt at that time at Hazazon Tamar, or Engedi, according to 2 Chron. xx. 2. The account in Num. xiii. 29 makes the Amorites possessed of all the mountain land of the south: even the whole range of high lands from Horeb to Kadesh-Barnea, which Israel traversed, is called in Deut. i. 19 the mountain of the Amorites; and Ewald[1] conjectures that the name Amorite itself signifies the inhabitant of an elevated region. The passage (Gen. xlviii. 22) in which Jacob speaks of a lot of land which he had taken with sword and bow from the hand of the Amorites, can probably only be understood in connection with southern Canaan, as the field at Shechem had been purchased from the Hivites. The Gibeonites, however, who were a remnant of the Amorites, are spoken of (2 Sam. xxi. 2) as inhabiting the land, though their home was pretty far to the north. The Canaanitic tribes of the south, who blended in course of time their stock with that of the Amorites, assumed gradually that name as their common designation, and in the last days of Joshua the name Amorite was given to all the enemies of Israel (Josh. xxiv. 17, 18). They had also taken possession of the country east of the Jordan (Judg. x. 8), the same district to which the Ammonites had long laid claim (Judg. xi. 13).

This region, which Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh received as their portion, had formerly been two great kingdoms, the southern one of which, and of Sihon king of Heshbon, lay between the Jabbok and the Arnon, and extended from the desert on the east to the Jordan on the west (Judg. xi. 22; Num. xxi. 13, 34). The northern kingdom, that of Og, whose most important cities were Ashtaroth and Edrei, in Bashan, lay between the river Jabbok and Mount Hermon (Num. xxi. 33; Josh. xii. 5). In this kingdom of Og there

[1] Ewald, *Gesch.* i. p. 280, note.

were sixty strong cities with high walls, gates, and bars, and many other towns without walls (Deut. iii. 5).

Shortly before the invasion of the Israelites, Sihon the king of Heshbon had plundered and laid waste the territory of his southern neighbours as far as to the Arnon (Num. xxi. 26): he had forced his way southward as far as Akrabbim, and the Edomite city of Petra, where was the rock Selah (Judg i. 36). Yet both of these kingdoms early fell under the power of Israel; and the most formidable battle, the most triumphant victory, which preceded their taking possession of the land, stirred the Hebrews to songs of triumph, and gave them a fresh impulse in their career of conquest.[1]

The Amorites had likewise become very powerful in Judah, on the west side of the Jordan, at the time of the Israelitish invasion; stronger indeed than they had been before, when they lived at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. On the so-called mountains of the Amorites the Israelites met five of their kings. It required fierce conflicts to subdue them, such as those in which Joshua engaged at Gibeon, near Beth-horon, and the valley of Ajalon north-west of Jerusalem (Josh. x. 1–14). The Amorite kings of that period ruled over Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon, as the Scripture expressly informs us. Although the nation was subdued, yet its power remained unbroken near the sea-coast; for they pressed afterwards as far north as Dan and the mountains, and did not suffer the people to come down into the valleys (Judg. i. 34). They even began to inhabit Mount Heres in Ajalon and Shaalbim (Judg. i. 35); yet the power of the tribe of Joseph was too weighty for them, and they were compelled to succumb, and had to pay tribute. At length, under Samuel, peace was made between the Israelites and the Amorites (1 Sam. vii. 14); and with the increase of the Hebrew power, the strength and importance of the earlier inhabitants continually waned (Josh. xvi. 10).

Thus we see that the Amorites were comparatively late invaders, whether they entered the central country of Palestine from Gilead at the east, or from the hill country of Judah at the south. Other tribes had previously occupied the places which they seized and possessed—the Moabites, Hittites, Danites, and Jebusites, unless the latter be considered a subordinate

[1] Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. p. 211 et seq.

tribe of the Amorites. They cannot be reckoned among the primitive tribes of the land, although, on account of their long abode in the midst of the so-called Canaanites, they can be said to have belonged to them.

The very places which they occupied show that the Amorites were a race of invaders; for, like the Israelites, they took possession of the hill-tops, where their personal valour could give them the opportunity to rush down upon their enemies, and then safely withdraw; but the cities built in the plains were well equipped for war, and were so familiar with all its arts, that they were not so easily overcome as some of the strongholds on the lower hills. The book of Judges hints at this when it speaks of the tribe of Judah, which had been able to subdue Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, but was checked by even more formidable foes (i. 19): "And the Lord was with Judah; and he drove out the inhabitants of the mountain, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron." It was such a resistance as that implies which Hazor offered to Joshua on the plain of Merom (Josh. xi. 1–12).

5. *The Girgashites.*[1]

These belong to the least important of the Canaanitic tribes, and seem to have immigrated into Palestine from the territory east of the Jordan. In the original promise given to Abraham (Gen. xv. 21), the Girgashites and the Jebusites have the last place, and in most of the successive enumerations of the original tribes of Canaan they are omitted. No mention is made of them after the conquest. It is possible, however, that the Gergesenes, mentioned in Matt. viii. 28, may refer to the descendants of the Girgashites,[2] and that the term may be perpetuated for that of the old hostile tribe. Jerome and Eusebius speak of a city Girgasa, and Origen locates it near Lake Tiberias; but nothing more is known regarding it, excepting that at the time of Jerome the name was ascribed to a little village on a hill; from which Ewald[3] acutely draws the suspicion that the place was

[1] Movers, *i.a.l.* vi. p. 87.

[2] Mayer, Note v. in *N. Test.* Frankf. a. M. 1813, p. 13; compare Winer, *Bibl. Realw.* art. *Gadara*, p. 384; Note to v. Raumer, *Palästi.* p. 363.

[3] Ewald, *Gesch.* i. p. 278.

once the stronghold of the Girgashites, which in Josh. xi. bears the name of Hazor, itself signifying a castle, or fortified hill. The place alluded to by Jerome lies near enough to the Sea of Galilee to correspond with the statement of Matthew; but it does not harmonize with the conjecture that the Girgashites were a very unimportant tribe.

6. *The Jebusites.*

These always close the list of the Canaanitic tribes. Their hostile relations to their neighbours, and the express statement that Adonibezek the king of Jebusi, afterwards Jerusalem (Josh. xviii. 28), was an Amorite prince (Josh. x. 1, 5), show that the Jebusites were originally a branch of the Amorites, and that their king was properly included among the five Amorite kings who went out against Israel (Num. xiii. 29; Josh. ix. 1). They are probably mentioned as an independent tribe in consequence of their eminent bravery, displayed in the stubborn resistance which they offered to Israel. It was only at the time of David that they were thoroughly conquered, and even then they were not exterminated. The tribe was overcome by Joshua at the battle of Ajalon; but he could not prevail against their stronghold, afterwards Jerusalem, which towered above the valley of Hinnom (Josh. xv. 8). It is true that there was a temporary capture of the lower city, but the conquered possession was not held long, and we are expressly told (Josh. xv. 63) that the men of Judah were not able to take Jerusalem from the Jebusites.

It was only after the accession of David to the throne of Israel, who resided for seven years at Hebron, the ancient capital, that war was carried on so successfully under the leadership of Joab, that the Jebusites were compelled to surrender their stronghold of Jerusalem, including the mountain of Zion,[1] which became thereafter the residence of David, and the capital of the kingdom of Israel. The name Jerusalem, which only afterwards became common, in taking the place of Jebusi, which had been the current appellation before, seems to have been in use to a certain extent even before this time. It does not seem to have been given by the Israelites, but to have been a name foreign to them, conferred upon the place by

[1] Ewald, *Gesch.* Pt. ii. pp. 228, 583.

the earlier population of the land. The etymology of the place, the "Inheritance of Salem," or the "Dwelling of Salem," indicates the same thing; and the natural character of the spot is such that it must always have been a position of importance as a stronghold.

Even after the capture of Jerusalem there remained some Jebusites there, like Araunah (2 Sam. xxiv. 16–25), who made peace with David, and were allowed to live quietly in their old home. Solomon reduced this remnant, as he did all that were left of the old tribes, into the condition of tributaries (1 Kings ix. 20). After the captivity, the Jebusites are brought into notice again (Ezra ix. 1), the old hatred having so far disappeared, that marriages were negotiated between them and the Israelites.

CHAPTER IV.

SEC. 3. TRIBES LIVING OUTSIDE OF CANAAN, WITH THE MOST OF WHOM THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL CAME INTO PERMANENT RELATIONS OF HOSTILITY.

LTHOUGH I have sought to give in the above pages a tolerably definite idea of the limits of the territory of Canaan, and the character of its population prior to the time of the Israelitish conquest, because that early population exercised so great an influence over the whole subsequent history of the Hebrew nation, even down to the present time, yet I have by no means exhausted the ethnographical and geographical character of the country in the earliest epochs of its history, the influence of the tribes of which I have spoken having extended far beyond the Canaanitish frontier, in the same way that David's domain reached southward as far as to the Red Sea, northward to Damascus and Sidon, and westward to Philistia; and just as the kingdom of Herod, the Roman and Byzantine district of Palestine, and the territory held by the Moslems and the Crusaders, extended not simply to the west bank of the Jordan, but embraced the illimitable wastes east of the Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee, expanding at times till it reached to the Euphrates, and at times contracting to the former limits.

In the preceding volume I have had occasion to refer to the southern approaches to Palestine: it now remains for me to speak of the primitive inhabitants of the country immediately contiguous to Canaan, since these people commanded the roads which led into the Promised Land, and had to be subdued or annihilated in order that Israel might have free entrance to Palestine, and might be kept separate from other nations.

The materials for gaining our knowledge are, however, very scanty: there is very little that is trustworthy in the accounts

which have come down from the remote period with which we have now to deal, yet they do not justify us in passing over without a single glance what they do not describe in full.

The most uncertainty is felt with regard to what I must speak of at the outset, and what may be called the beginning of the beginning of the subject,—namely, that which relates to the so-called race of giants which dwelt in the lands outlying Canaan.

I. THE REPHAIM OR GIANTS; THE SONS OF ANAK.

Most histories of nations in their primitive state begin with the story of a race of giants. Among the Mandshurians, however, Indians, Pehlvi, Persians, Kurds, Arabians, and Israelites also, we do not fall in with such stories; and we meet as little with the graves of giants among those nations as among the Trojans, the Homeric Læstrygones of the south, or the Huns of the north.

The Rephaim or giants, the sons of Anak as they are called in the earliest[1] narratives, seem to have been a race of men of much larger proportions than the Hebrews, who, like the Arabs of the present day, were probably small in stature (Num. xiii. 33). In one of the oldest biblical narratives, that of Chedorlaomer's overthrow at the time of Abraham, and his repulse to the south as far as Mount Seir and the desert of Paran, we are told that this Syrian king slew the Rephaim at Ashtaroth Karnaim, the Zuzims at Ham, and the Emims at Kiriathaim; the two last being probably subdivisions of the first (Gen. xiv. 3–6). The Emims are probably that strong and high-spirited people who had inhabited that region before the time of Lot, and had been so called by the Moabites. After they were subdued their country was called the land of Moab (Deut. ii. 10, 11). The Zamzummims—that is, the men of evil counsel (Deut. ii. 20)—are probably the same as the Zuzims, for they lived in the same region, between the rivers Jabbok and Arnon, and, like the Emims, were a powerful tribe, as were the Anakims, who had previously lived in the country, and been conquered and robbed of their territory.

This story, which dates from an exceedingly ancient period,

[1] Keil, *Commentar über d. Buch Josua*, pp. 229–231.

appears to rest on at least this basis of truth, that in this same district north of the Jabbok in Bashan, king Og—that is, Long-neck—who lived at Ashtaroth, is spoken of as the last king of the race of giants.[1] His iron bed, corresponding to his size, was exhibited as a memorial of him at Rabbath (Deut. iii. 11), possibly a basaltic sarcophagus[2] like those which are still to be seen in the country,—Noah's in the Lebanon, Nimrod's at Damascus, Hosea's at Szalt, and Aaron's on Mount Hor.

Yet it by no means follows, from the existence of these giants, that the Canaanitic tribes were in any way related to them, or resembled them in stature: there is no mention made anywhere of Amoritic giants.

There are traces of the existence of Rephaim on the west side of the Jordan; and it is possible that the valley of Rephaim, west of Jerusalem, bounded on the north by the rocky valley of Hinnom (Josh. xv. 8), received its name from them at a very early period.[3] Yet what we know of them is mostly mythical; they are connected in the Septuagint and in Josephus in a general way with Titans and with giants. According to Joshua, they withdrew north of Mount Ephraim, among the Perizzites (Josh. xvii. 15). Three of them were named as sons of Anak, and as living at Hebron. Their ancestor Arba, the greatest of his race, had once given his name, Kiriath Arba, or the city of Arba, to Hebron (Josh. xiv. 15);[4] yet it was but a temporary appellation: it appeared subsequently at the time of Abraham, and disappeared at the time of Joshua, when the three sons of Anak were driven from Hebron by Caleb (Josh. xv. 14).

It still remains a subject of dispute, whether that almost unknown and only fragmentarily mentioned race of Anakim—always designated as the sons of Anak, which, as dwellers in cities, may be held to have been among the earliest inhabitants of the land, and to be reckoned in the same category with the nomadic Perizzites, who were driven out at the same time—is to be considered as Canaanitish in its character; or whether it

[1] Von Lengerke, *Kenaan*, p. 181 et sq.

[2] Burckhardt, *Reise*, Gesenius' ed. i. 42, 101, ii. 600, 716.

[3] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* i. 219.

[4] Keil, *Commentary on Joshua, Judges, and Ruth*, p. 150, Edin. 1864; Ewald, *Gesch.* i. p. 276.

is not, with a higher degree of probability, to be held as a still more ancient race, holding the country prior to its possession by the tribes with whom the Israelites came mainly in conflict.[1] But this is certain, that it was a tribe of very tall and imposing men, filling the hearts of the Hebrews with a causeless fear; for they were not so dangerous as they seemed, and were conquered by Joshua, and compelled to take refuge among the hostile Philistines along the sea-coast at the south-west. In the time of Saul, who was himself a man of gigantic stature, and David, there appeared one of these colossal men, Goliath, among the enemies of the Israelites (1 Sam. xvii. 4). In Josh. xi. 21, 22, we read, "And at that time came Joshua, and cut off the Anakims from the mountains, from Hebron, from Debir, from Anab, and from all the mountains of Judah, and from all the mountains of Israel: Joshua destroyed them utterly, with their cities. There was none of the Anakims left in the land of the children of Israel: only in Gaza, in Gath, and in Ashdod there remained." These are the men who, at the time of David, entered the field against Israel in the service of the Philistines, and under the name of children of Rapha (2 Sam. xxi. 15–22).

II. THE AVITES, OR AVIMS.

This tribe is spoken of only twice as a very ancient conquered people (Deut. ii. 23; Josh. xiii. 3), who lived at Hazarim, and extended as far as to Gaza, but who were early exterminated by the Philistines. Nothing further is known regarding them. Among the cities of Benjamin, Joshua (xviii. 23) speaks of one called Avim.

III. THE HORITES, OR DWELLERS IN THE ROCKS.

Very little more has come down to us about the Horites, the neighbours of the Canaanites on the south-east, and who dwelt in the mountains of Seir, *i.e.* hairy, rough. From this circumstance they are sometimes called Seirites; for their designation Horites seems merely to signify troglodytes, since they built their houses in the clefts of the rocks (Obad. 3). From the

[1] Keil, *i.a.l.* pp. 229–231.

mention made of them in Gen. xxxvi. 20, they seem to be an independent and indigenous tribe, and not to have immigrated into the region as the children of Israel did into Palestine, and as the sons of Esau did into the mountain land farther south. It was here, according to the very oldest records—those which date from the time of Abraham—that they were attacked by Chedorlaomer on his way from Elam, after he had conquered the giants on the east bank of the Jordan. In Gen. xiv. 6 we read, "And Chedorlaomer smote the Horites in their Mount Seir unto El-paran, which is by the wilderness; and they returned and came unto En-mishpat, which is Kadesh." In Gen. xxxvi. 20-29 the names are given of the sons of Seir the Horite, all of them princes. They are—Lotan, Shobal, Zibeon, Anah, Dishon, Ezer, and Dishan; the name of the second is preserved in the designation Syria Shobal. The son of the seventh was called Uz, a name which is familiar to us from its connection with the book of Job.[1] The Mosaic document which relates the lineage of these Edomite princes must be the most ancient record of that mountain people; for in Deut. ii. 12 we find this allusion, "The Horims also dwelt in Seir beforetime, but the children of Esau succeeded them when they had destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead: as Israel did unto the land of his possession which the Lord gave unto them." Whether in the book of Job (xxiv. 5-9) the depressed condition of these Horites or Horims is pictured in terms which would describe the status of Indian pariahs or a tribe of gypsies, as Ewald[2] has conjectured, is uncertain; but von Raumer[3] has very successfully shown the remarkable connection between Edom and Uz, in his comments on Lam. iv. 21, "Rejoice and be glad, O daughter of Edom, that dwellest in the land of Uz." But of this I shall speak more fully in a subsequent place.

[1] *Onomast. Euseb. s.v. Idumæa;* Reland, *Pal.* p. 72.

[2] Ewald, *Gesch.* i. pp. 273, 274; Winer, *i.a.l. Horites*, i. 512; comp. v. Lengerke, *Kenaan*, p. 184.

[3] K. v. Raumer, *Das östliche Palästina und das Land Edom*, in *Bergh. Annalen* 1830, vol. i. p. 563, etc.

IV. EDOM, EDOMITES, IDUMÆANS.[1]

Esau, the son of Isaac, the first-born twin-brother of Jacob, is best known by the name Edom, the red, and in connection with his descendants the Edomites, who settled in Mount Seir, and drove out the Horims, who had dwelt there before. This ethnographical name is the one distinctively given in the Old Testament to the race of Esau; for in Gen. xxxvi. 9 we read, "These are the generations of Esau, the father of the Edomites, in Mount Seir." His marrying into various Canaanite tribes, whom his parents esteemed as heathen, his withdrawal from Canaan when there was no longer room for his flocks as well as those of Jacob to subsist in the same country, the well-known enmity between the two brothers, and the mistrust which perpetuated itself in the next generation, affected for centuries the destiny of those two neighbouring but never allied nations, the Edomites and the Jews, and resulted at last in a settled national hatred (Deut. ii. 4, 8).

At the first Edom must have pastured his flocks and herds just on the southern confines of Canaan, where, at the time of Joshua, the borders of the two countries met (Josh. xv. 1); and that northern position must have been the one early occupied, since the Horites were the prior possessors of Mount Seir, and the Amorites held the southern portion of the Dead Sea (Gen. xiv. 6, 7). The Edomites, at a later period, forced their way south-eastward into the mountain region of the Horites, or Horims, where they found a more advantageous dwelling-place, and at last became lords of the whole territory. They were dwelling there at the time that Moses passed northward with the children of Israel to Kadesh-Barnea at the north-west, where the desert of Zin, which lay north of Paran and Edom, terminated. Kadesh, we are told in Num. xx. 16, was the city on the northern frontier of Edom, and in its neighbourhood the old name of the mountain ("Serr") is still found in use among the Beduins. In consequence of the refusal which the

[1] H. Relandi, *Pal.* cxii. *de regione Edom*, pp. 66–73. Gesenius, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, in *Comm. to Isaiah*, Pt. i. Leipzig 1821, pp. 904–913; ii. p. 261. Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterthumsk.* iii. pp. 65–77; Winer, *Edom*, i. p. 292; K. v. Raumer, *i.a.l.* i. pp. 553–566; E. Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 108–116.

Edomites gave to the passage of Israel through their territory, Moses was obliged to turn back again to the Ælanitic Gulf, to make a circuit round the Seir range, and to pass into the district of Moab from the east (Deut. ii. 1, 8). The Seir range, which was in the possession of the Edomites, extended from the Dead Sea to the eastern arm of the Red Sea; for the Seir of the Bible, with which the subsequent Mohammedan name, Jebel Shera, is allied, embraced a far larger tract of territory than that which was embraced by the word Seir as used by Arabian writers, who meant, when they used the word, only a subordinate part of the whole country to which the biblical writers refer under the name of Seir. It is now a well-settled fact, too, that the Arabic word Shera, *i.e.* extent of land, has only the accidental resemblance of sound to the name Seir, and cannot be considered identical with it or traced back to it. Sherak and Alsherak are the names given at the present time to the mountains north of Edom, and near Kerak: the brook el-Hassa, or Ashy, was the southern boundary of Moab, where the land of Edom began, and the region from that point on has taken the usual name of Jebâl (Gabalitis). South of Wadi Ghoeir, the country is generally called Jebel Shera, extending as far as Tor Hesmah, and passing Petra. At the time of Moses, the power of Edom must have extended far to the south, and to the neighbourhood of the Red Sea: for we read in Deut. ii. 4, 8, that Israel was obliged to pass by the head of that sea; and as this way could easily be closed against them, the injunction was especially valuable, that they should "take good heed unto themselves."

At the time of the transit of the Israelites, the heads of Edomite families had been made kings; and we learn from Gen. xxxvi. 31–43, that they had reigned in this country long before kings had been appointed in Israel. By this are not meant hereditary rulers of the same dynasty; but they appear to be princes chosen by lot, since the eight who are mentioned by name appear to have come from entirely different families and from entirely different places: compare 1 Chr. i. 43–54. Their names were Bela, the son of Beor; the name of his city was Dinhabbah: after him came Jobab, a son of Berah of Bozrah: in his place Husham of the land of the Temanites: after him Hadad, a son of Bedad, who conquered the Midianites in Moab;

his city was named Avith: after him came Samlah of Masrekah: then Saul of Rehoboth by the river: after he died, Baalhanan the son of Achbor reigned; and then king Hador, whose city was called Pai. Then follows a list containing eleven other names of Edomite princes, mentioned without any specification, excepting that they lived each in his own domain; whence the conjecture seems plausible, that there was at that time a party of the Edomites living towards the north-east, who had connected themselves with the chief princes[1] descended from Esau, and had remained in possession of Seir.

Almost nothing is known regarding the cities ruled over by the above-mentioned Edomite princes. Dinhabbah we do not know at all, if it be not one[2] of two places mentioned by Eusebius under the name Dannaba, one of which was eight Roman miles from Areopolis, as one goes towards the Arnon.

Bozrah, in Edom—a place whose name has been written variously, Eusebius giving it as Bosor, but whose real position had never been known—has been confounded very often with the Bostra of the Greeks and Romans, in the plain of Moab. Its location was discovered by Burckhardt to be that of the modern Bussira; and it is supposed by von Raumer,[3] on satisfactory grounds, to have been the place figuratively called the Rocky Nest of the Edomite eagle. It was afterwards visited by Robinson, and identified almost beyond the chance of mistake.

Teman, unquestionably near the well-known caravan station of Maan, east of Petra, but not identical with it, as Colonel Leake supposed, belonged to the Temanites, whose seat seems to have been around the present Petra, in the very centre of Edom. Teman was celebrated throughout that whole region for the wisdom of its inhabitants. It was praised by the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, and some idea of its character can be gained from the words of Eliphaz the Temanite in the book of Job.[4] Whether Shuak, Burckhardt's Szyhham, is the city of Bildad the Shuhite, as Raumer suspects, must be left undetermined, although these ruins lie in the land of Edom. Naamah, the home of Zophar, is wholly unknown; nor can

[1] Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterth.* iii. pp. 69–71.
[2] Winer, i. p. 270.
[3] K. v. Raumer, *Das östliche Palästi. i.a.l.* i. p. 565.
[4] Gesenius, *Comm. zu Jesaias*, ii. 674.

Buz, the city of Elihu, be identified on strict grammatical principles with Bosta,[1] south of Petra, or with the more northern Bosor, or Bozrah. Avith, the home of Hadad, is entirely unknown to us, as also is Pai. Whether Rehoboth by the river, the home of the Edomite Saul, was the Rehoboth of the Euphrates, or the Errachaby of Rauwolf near the mouth of the Chaboras, can only be determined by knowing whether this king came from a region outside of Edom; for the domain of Edom never extended at that early date to the Euphrates.[2] The location of Masrekah, the city of Samlah, is unknown, although Eusebius cites the name of a city in Gebalene under the name Masreca. Among the best known of the cities of Edom, although not becoming eminent till in the later wars of the kings of Judah, are Selah (Joktheel), or Petra (2 Kings xiv. 7; 2 Chron. xxv. 11–14); Wadi Musa, and the harbours of Elath and Ezion-geber. By the want of any history of their own, the Edomites are lost in obscurity during the successive centuries, and we obtain only the most casual glimpses of them during their wars with Judah and Israel. Saul, the first of the Hebrew kings, waged war with the Edomites, and slew a number of that race, who had pillaged a portion of his territory (1 Sam. xiv. 47); king David smote the Edomites in the Valley of Salt (1 Chron. xviii. 12), and gained so complete a victory over them, that he took possession of their cities; and Solomon employed Elath and Ezion-geber as the ports whence to send his fleets to Ophir. The effort of one of the Edomite princes, who, while a mere boy, had fled to Egypt during the reign of David, been received with honour at the court of Pharaoh, and returned during the reign of Solomon powerfully supported to re-establish the dominion of Edom (1 Kings xi. 14–22), was only transitory, and without results; for in the year 914 B.C., when the second fleet was built by king Jehoshaphat in the harbour of Ezion-geber, we read expressly, "And there was then no king in Edom."

The reception of Hadad in Egypt, the honour paid him by Pharaoh in giving him the queen's sister as his wife, and in

[1] K. v. Raumer, *Pal.* p. 273; Winer, *Bibl. Realw.* i. p. 205.

[2] Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterth.* i. p. 270, and Note, p. 313; Winer, ii. p. 308, Rechoboth hannabar. *In Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. Böcking, cap. xxix. ad p. 78, Note 17, ad p. 346, is unfortunately defective.

educating his children as of equal rank with his own, show the importance of Edom in the eyes of its powerful neighbours. Although, soon after this, Jehoram king of Israel, and Jehoshaphat king of Judah, in the course of their war against the rebellious king of Moab, were compelled to take their course through the desert of Edom, and form an alliance with the king of that country; yet the latter was probably a mere deputy, or a real vassal, bearing the name of the king (2 Kings iii. 9).

Under the son of Jehoshaphat, Joram king of Judah, the Edomites revolted utterly, and chose for themselves a king (2 Kings viii. 20-22); after that time they remained in Selah or Petra (2 Kings xiv. 7), till after Amaziah attacked them, and Uzziah rebuilt Elath (2 Chron. xxvi. 2), and Rezin king of Syria had driven all the Jews out of the last-named port (2 Kings xvi. 6). From that period they were wholly freed from the attacks of their now weakened northern neighbours.

The Old Testament is from this time silent regarding the Edomites; but in consequence of the downfall of the kingdom of Judah, Edom must, as we gather from some hints in the prophetic writings, have extended its borders farther towards the east and north[1] than ever before. At the destruction of Jerusalem the Edomites were enabled to obtain vengeance for their former subjection. They leagued themselves with the Chaldeans under Nebuchadnezzar, and, in sympathy with the powerful Syrians, they rejoiced with songs of triumph over the downfall of Judah (Ezek. xxv. 8–14). The domination of the Chaldeans, however, swept away the Edomites too in its course (Jer. xxvii. 3).

Although they appear thereafter in connection with wars, yet they no longer are an independent people. The unextinguishable hatred of the Hebrews rested more heavily upon this nation of kindred stock, than it did upon the Chaldeans themselves. In the cursings poured out upon Babylon, Edom is seldom[2] forgotten (Ps. cxxxvii. 7–9); and all the prophets struggle for pre-eminence, as it were, in hurling their evil wishes against it. During the captivity, and after it, as well as in the time of the Maccabees, the Edomites pressed up into Palestine as far as to Hebron; and it is natural that an Edomite should

[1] Gesenius, *i.a.l. Comm.* i. 906.

[2] Gesenius, *i.a.l.* i. pp. 907, 911, 912, ii. p. 261.

seem to the embittered Hebrews a representative of natural hatred, and that the prophets should have made the judgments of Jehovah upon the wicked synonymous with His judgments upon Edom (Isa. lxiii.).

During the period in which the history of the ancient Edomites is hid from us in entire obscurity, there begins to be developed within the rocky fastnesses which had protected them another great power, that of the peaceful Nabathæans, whom the successors of Alexander, Antigonus, and Demetrius tried in vain to drive from Petra, their central stronghold. It is hardly a matter of doubt that the rude Edomites were driven from their old home by the Nabathæans, or at least compelled to do menial service in behalf of this great commercial people, while Petra rose, under its Meleks and Obodas, to independence, and to a splendour which roused the jealousy even of the Romans. The Nabathæans had no share in the hostile undertakings of the Edomites, and entered into close alliance with Palestine as little as with Phœnicia, and accepted only at a late period in their history the proffered friendship of the Roman emperors.

Contemporaneously with the rise of the power of the Nabathæans, *i.e.* in the time of the Maccabees, the second century before Christ, the custom arose among historians of designating the northern Edomites, many of whom had settled in Judah, by the term Idumæans, and their country Idumæa. This name was used by Josephus even, and was in general use among the Romans, who, in fact, applied it to the whole of Judæa. The Idumæans proper were subdued by John Hyrcanus, 120 B.C., and were only permitted to remain in the country on condition of being circumcised. He hoped by this to incorporate them into the Jewish people, and he even placed Jewish rulers over them; but the old national hatred was by no means lessened.

Antipater, one of these prefects who were set over the Idumæans, took advantage of the internal dissensions of the Maccabæan kings, and of the Roman influence, to strengthen his own power; and his son Herod is well known in history as the first king of the Idumæan dynasty who took the place of the Edomite archon. How little the hatred and the desire of revenge existing among the Idumæans against the Jews had

been extinguished, is shown shortly before the siege and capture of Jerusalem by Titus, when the party of Zealots summoned 20,000 Idumæans into the city to plunder and murder the party opposed to them; and this great army of robbers made good their escape before the Romans had attacked the place.

Subsequently to that time we have more mention of Edomites, or of Idumæans; and the names Gebalene, Palæstina Tertia, Arabia Petræa, and others, come into more frequent use to designate the region. The old land of Edom is utterly forgotten, and the Idumæans, with so many other tribes of that early time, are lost in the ocean of Arabs and Saracens.

V. AMALEKITES.[1]

This tribe is spoken of by Balaam as one of the oldest in the world (Num. xxiv. 20): "Amalek was the first of the nations; but his latter end shall be, that he shall perish for ever,"—a passage which briefly characterizes the whole history of the Amalekites. According to Gen. xxxvi. 12, they are of Edomitic origin, descending from Amalek, a grandson of Esau, although this statement does not seem to agree with the account in Gen. xiv. 7, according to which Chedorlaomer, after attacking the Horites in Mount Seir at the time of Abraham, turned northward towards Kadesh, and smote the whole land of the Amalekites, and also overcame the Amorites, who were then dwelling at Hazazon Tamar (Engedi). This account harmonizes better with the statement of the great antiquity of the Amalekite tribe, and also with the earliest Arabian records (though relatively very modern), which speak of an Amlâq or Amlêq, a son of Aad, and a grandson of Chan, and ascribe to his very ancient family a residence at Jaman, but later a violent invasion northward. This race belongs, therefore, to that South Arabian stock which has no affinity with Abraham, as sons of Ham or Joktan (Gen. x. 7, 26-30). Gesenius held them to be connected with the Canaanites and the Carthaginians, of the latter of whom the Arabians used to say that they were an

[1] H. Reland, *Pal.* cxiv. *de Amalacitide*, 78–82; Gesenius, *Amalikiter*, in Ersch's *Encycl.* Pt. iii. p. 301 et sq.; Rosenmüller, *i.a.l.* iii. pp. 90–94; Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 299, 300; Winer, *Bibl. Realw.* i. p. 51; J. Lengerke, *Kenaan*, pp. 200-207.

Amalekite colony in North Africa. Reland has noticed it as a remarkable fact, that during the wandering of the Israelites through the Peninsula, the two nations, the Edomites and the Amalekites, are always spoken of in different terms; the latter being invariably alluded to as a natural enemy, the former as a race hostile to the Israelites indeed, but connected with it by old ties of blood.

From the oldest records it is determined, with a great deal of certainty, that the oldest dwelling-place of the Amalekites was between Seir and Engaddi, and therefore on the south-west side of the Dead Sea; but according to 1 Sam. xv. 7, their country had become much more extensive, and reached to the Egyptian frontier; for Saul smote them "from Havilah until thou comest to Shur, that is over against Egypt." This Havilah is unknown[1] to us, though it must be looked for in the southern part of Judæa, although we have exactly the same expression just quoted applied to the dwelling-place of Ishmael, whose Havilah must be located farther eastward. Sur, or more correctly Shur, on the contrary, the desert on the way to Egypt into which Hagar was driven (Gen. xvi. 7), and where Abraham dwelt (Gen. xxv. 18), is the Desert el Jesar of the Arabs, and the real Egyptian boundary; and Josephus could say with perfect truth, that the Amalekite territory extended from Pelusium to the Red Sea. Samuel says, in express confirmation of the great antiquity of the tribe, that the "Geshurites, and the Gezrites, and the Amalekites, were of old the inhabitants of the land as thou goest to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt."

We can now understand how it was that this ancient and powerful tribe was the first to attack the Israelites at Rephidim, on their way through the wilderness; in which they were not the conquerors, however, but were overcome by Joshua (Ex. xvii. 8–13). Soon after that event, however, Israel was again attacked by the same tribe, which had allied itself with the Canaanites along the southern border of Palestine; and this time the united forces were successful, and the Hebrews were driven back from the hills of Arad as far as Hormah (Num. xiv. 45). They formed, therefore, a powerful population in the southern part of Canaan at a very early date, and

[1] Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Arch.* iii. p. 157.

extended westward as far as to the territory of the Philistines, where David overcame them (1 Sam. xxvii. 8). They even reached as far as to Gaza, and in conjunction with the Midianites, became so numerous, that "they came as grasshoppers for multitude." The extreme eastern border of their territory, in which they are once named in conjunction with the children of Ammon, was Jericho, the city of palms, on the lower Jordan (Judg. iii. 13). According to the statement of Josephus (*Antiq.* ix. 9), the Amalekites joined the Edomites and the Gabalites in their war against Amaziah king of Judah, and were conquered in the Valley of Salt: yet in the accounts of 2 Kings xiv. 7, and 2 Chron. xxv. 11, there is mention only of the Edomites. Uzziah the son of Amaziah is thought by Ewald to have continued the war against them (1 Chron. xxvi.).

These Amalekites, although they may have been at a very early period a very powerful nation, of settled habits of life, five hundred years after the time of Abraham, and during the life of Moses, were evidently a nomadic tribe, having all the ways and habits of wanderers. It seems probable that, after being driven from their central home in the Valley of Rephidim (the modern Feiran), they were compelled to adopt new modes of life; and being too weak to attack Israel singly, that they allied themselves with other powerful tribes, and swept from place to place, as the Beduins do now, with no central spot to call their capital, and with no attachment to any special place. One of their kings, Agag, fell into the hands of Saul, taken in the very act of sacking and plundering the country along the Egyptian frontier. They were looked upon as a race of robbers (1 Sam. xv. 2–7); and it was thought right in the time of David and Saul to exterminate every man, woman, and child of the race. It was even laid as a great reproach on the good name of the latter, that he had showed any mercy to them; and in Samuel that tenderness is mentioned as "evil in the sight of the Lord."

After the Amalekites had sacked Ziklag, a city on the southern border of Canaan, and had taken away every valuable thing, in revenge for their own former troubles at the hand of the Israelites, and had even taken captive David's wives, they were pursued by six hundred men of war, and utterly routed near the brook Besor (?) while they were indulging in their

revelry. Only four hundred escaped, fleeing on camels (1 Sam. xxx. 1–22).

After David had entirely subjected the country of Edom, there is no more mention of the Amalekites. Only once again, under Hezekiah, is there an allusion to a remnant of the tribe living in Mount Seir. In central Palestine, at the time of the judges, there is a trace of their name; for we read of a mountain district in Ephraim possessed by the Amalekites, in which one of the judges of Israel, Abdon the son of Hillel, a Pirathonite, was buried (Judg. xii. 15). Nothing further is known of this branch of the tribe; but even this explains the passage in the song of Barak and Deborah, "Out of Ephraim was there a root of them against Amalek." There is no city of Amalekites mentioned in the very oldest records (Gen. xxxvi. 12, 16), although there was a "city of Amalek" subsequently, to which Macrizi alludes, and which, I think, must be identified with the Ptolemaic Pharan.

VI. THE KENITES.

Kenaz, the founder of this tribe, and Amalek, are named as brothers, grandsons of Esau, sons of Eliphaz, but by different mothers (Gen. xxxvi. 11, 12). The Kenites[1] are spoken of in another passage as of equally great antiquity with the Amalekites (Gen. xv. 19, 21); and in Saul's time they were encamped, in company with the Amalekites, in the desert of Shur (1 Sam. xv. 2–7). They seem, therefore, to have been a small tribe tributary to that of Amalek. Yet their relations with the Israelites were far from hostile, even as early as the days of Moses. This is evident from the request which Saul made to them to withdraw from the Amalekites, and save themselves the slaughter which would otherwise have engulphed them all.

It will be remembered that Moses, after his withdrawing from Egypt into the land of Midian, married one of the seven daughters of the priest of Midian; and at a later period, when Pharaoh his persecutor had died in Egypt, he tended the sheep of Jethro, his father-in-law, at the mountain of Horeb (Ex. ii. 15–22). From Judg. i. 16, compared with iv. 11, it appears that the father-in-law of Moses was really a Kenite; for his son

[1] Rosenmüller, *i.a.l.* ii. p. 250.

Hobab, the brother-in-law of Moses, and his immediate connections, are called the sons of the Kenite, and are spoken of as having gone out from Jericho into the wilderness of Judah, south of the city of Arad, and as living there among the people of Judah. Another Kenite, Heber, separated himself from these sons of Hobab, and set up his abode at the oaks of Zaanaim, near Kadesh.

This tributary of the great tribe of Amalek was therefore linked by old ties to the Jews, and mingled freely among them, as the Midianites had formerly done, for Midian was the son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2). It may therefore be, that although the Midianites and Amalekites were formerly bound together by close ties, yet that now they were separated from each other by the interposition of Jethro in favour of Israel. The Amalekites lost their power; the Midianites, removing to the more eastern part of Arabia, existed for many centuries; and the words of Saul (1 Sam. xv. 6) were well founded, when he said to the Kenites, "Go, depart, get you down from among the Amalekites, lest I destroy you with them: for ye showed kindness to all the children of Israel when they came up out of Egypt." Jethro had welcomed Moses with kindness, had been amazed at the great deeds of Jehovah, and the wonderful deliverance of Israel, and had given excellent counsel regarding the government of the people (Ex. xviii.). He had even brought an offering to Jehovah, the highest proof of a kindly interest that he could offer, and one which was subsequently renewed by the kindly offer of Hobab, his son, to conduct Israel into the Promised Land (Num. x. 29–33).

In the very early connection of Moses with Jethro's house, in the blessing given by Jethro to Moses, and on other grounds, Ewald[1] finds reasons for suspecting an old alliance between the Kenites, Midianites, and Israelites, descended as they all were from Abraham. He also thinks that, during the journey of Israel through the Sinai Peninsula, these three tribes were so closely thrown together, that they in some cases constituted but a single body. This would explain the existence of so great a number of men as 603,550, the number of the Israelites, exclusive of women and children,—a number which would seem too large for the land of Goshen, but which might easily be

[1] Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. p. 32 et sq., and i. p. 450.

formed around Sinai by the aggregation of kindred tribes, and which would be needful to subjugate a land so thickly peopled as Canaan.

From the last mention of the Kenites, it appears that they were living in Judæa on terms of friendship with Israel, and that, like the Israelites, they had gone over from a tent-life to a residence in builded houses; and when David had conquered the Amalekites in Ziklag, he sent a portion of the booty to the cities along the southern frontier that were friendly, and among them to the cities of the Kenites (1 Sam. xxx. 29).

Not all the Kenites, however, could give up their free tent-life, and accustom themselves to the restraints of a house and the culture of the soil. In this respect they were not unlike the Beduins of to-day.

Hundreds of years before the time of the prophet Jeremiah, Jehonadab, a son of Rechab (2 Kings x. 15, 33), and a descendant of the Kenites,[1] who lived near Samaria in middle Palestine, had enjoined this simple tent-life upon his descendants in these words (Jer. xxxv. 6, 7): "Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons for ever: neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents." The rigid adherence which this sect, that always bore the name of Rechabites, showed to the injunctions of their founder, was held up by the prophet Jeremiah as worthy of high praise, and was commended to Israel, which had so often been untrue to Jehovah, as an instance of remarkable fidelity. This injunction against the use of wine was also observed among the Nabathæans; and the Rechabites of Assyria, as well as those of southern Yemen, who boast of their descent from Hobab and Rechab, still adhere to it. Among the Mohammedans, too, the use of wine is forbidden.

VII. THE KENIZZITES.

This is a tribe of very little importance, as it is mentioned only once in connection with the foregoing, and with the Kadmonites, of whom equally little is known (Gen. xv. 19). We only learn this about them, that a part of them were scattered over the southern portion of Judæa at the time of the conquest

[1] V. Lengerke, *Kenaan*, pp. 107, und 203, 204.

of Canaan, surrounded by other more important tribes, and that they were in some sense connected with Israel; for Caleb, who was so efficient a helper in the work of bringing the land into subjection, and to whom the city of Hebron fell as his share, is spoken of as a Kenizzite. This tribe seems to have pressed into Palestine from the south, as the Amalekites and the Kenites had done. A part of them seems, from such circumstances as Caleb's marriage with their daughters, to have been favourably disposed towards Israel, while another portion appears to have formed an alliance with Edom.[1]

VIII. THE KADMONITES,

who are mentioned only in connection with the foregoing in Gen. xv. 19, seem to be a still less important tribe. They are spoken of rather as the "sons of the east" (Judg. vi. 3; Isa. xi. 14), and seem, like many other tribes of similar character, to have forced their way westward from the district lying farther east, as the Ishmaelites and Katurians did in ancient times, the Saracens during the middle ages, and the Beduins in modern times. The name does not indicate, therefore, a specific tribe, as those heretofore cited do. Among the rude nations which came from the district east of the Jordan, and from the south, those who leagued themselves with the Moabites were the most dangerous at the time of Moses (Num. xxii. 4, 7); and among them the Midianites were the most formidable,[2] for their numbers were so great that they are likened in the sacred narrative to grasshoppers. Their power was so great, that they actually gained such ascendancy over the Israelites as to hold them in subjection for seven years, till Gideon released his countrymen from the yoke. The Midianites here mentioned are to be discriminated from Jethro's friends, who came from the neighbourhood of the Ælanitic Gulf to meet Israel at Sinai: the former lived in the district north of the Amorite and Moabite territory, and had paid tribute to the Amorite king, till freed from his yoke, they had allied themselves with Balak king of Moab. With the victory of Gideon, all allusion to their name disappears from

[1] V. Lengerke, *Kenaan*, p. 204; Ewald, *Gesch.* i. p. 298; Winer, art. *Kenisiter und Caleb*, pp. 207, 634.

[2] *Gesch. der Volks Israel*, ii. pp. 327–329.

history. Coupled with these Arabian races which pressed in from the east, the Maonites are mentioned in Judg. x. 12 and in 2 Chron. xxvi. 7, but it is only casually.[1] The home of this tribe is unknown; it is conjectured to have been the locality represented by the Maan of the present day, and there seems to be some probability that this was the case.[2]

IX. THE MOABITES:[3] THE COUNTRY AND PLAINS OF MOAB.

There still remain the two tribes which lived on the east side of the Dead Sea and of the Jordan, and which were remotely allied by blood to Israel—the Moabites and the Ammonites. The territories were originally contiguous, and extended from the northern boundary of Edom to the fords of the lower Jordan. The country becomes specially interesting in connection with the passage of the Israelites through it.

After their long circuit round the unfriendly land of Edom, in the course of which they came as far south as to the head of the eastern arm of the Red Sea, they reached the three stations Zalmonah, Punon, and Oboth, which indicate to us with considerable exactness the southern limits of Moab, over which the Hebrews passed (Num. xxxiii. 41–44). Journeying from Oboth, the record tells us, they encamped in Ijim, at the mountains of Abarim, "in the wilderness which is before Moab, toward the sunrising" (Num. xxi. 11); or, as it is stated in Num. xxxiii. 44, "And they departed from Oboth, and pitched in Ije-abarim, in the border of Moab." In this neighbourhood, and on the road from Kadesh-Barnea, thirty-eight wretched years were passed (Deut. ii. 14), during which most of the serious difficulties which beset the Israelites were encountered, and during which also the whole generation of warriors who left Egypt passed away. Here, at the brook Zered, Moses laid his injunction upon the people not to trouble or wage war with the Moabites, for their country was not to

[1] Hengstenberg, *Die Geschichte Bileams*, Pt. i. 1842, pp. 32–35.

[2] V. Lengerke, *Kenaan*, pp. 204, 205; Ewald, *Gesch.* i. p. 284, ii. p. 220, *i.a.l.*

[3] H. Relandus, cap. xx. *Moabites;* Gesenius, *Philolog. crit. und histor. Commentar zur Isaias*, Pt. i. sec. 2, Leipsig 1821, pp. 500–507; Kurze, *Gesch. des Moabitischen Volks und Staats.*

fall into the possession of the Israelites. We have in this connection the allusion already cited (Deut. ii. 10), that the Emims were the former occupants of the country usually called Moab in the Bible, whose inhabitants were descendants of Lot. In Deut. ii. 13 occur these words: "Now rise up, and get you over the brook Zered." It is uncertain whether the stream here alluded to is the Wadi el Ahsa, the "brook of meadows," or the wadi of Kerak, farther north; but a description of the course is given in Judg. xi. 18: "Then they went along through the wilderness, and compassed the land of Edom, and the land of Moab, and pitched on the other side of Arnon, but came not within the border of Moab; for Arnon was the border [that is, on the north] of Moab."

This makes us acquainted with the boundaries, but not with the land itself, of the Moabites; for the Israelites did not enter it: for their road lay to the eastward of it, as the great Arab caravan road lies east of the same territory at the present day. But though we gain no special insight into the character of the country, yet the biblical narratives, and later history also, shed some light upon the character of the people who inhabited it.

From the account in Gen. xix., we learn that the Moabites were descended from Lot, who fled to Zoar after the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah; but not daring to remain even there, withdrew to the mountains, and lived in a cave with his daughters, where the oldest bore, to her own father, a son whose name was called Moab, and the youngest one who was called Ammi, and from whom the Ammonites sprang. The consciousness of a primitive relationship with these races, as with the Edomites, lived on in the minds of the Israelites for five hundred years, although, in telling the story of the impure origin of the Moabites and Ammonites, it is hardly to be denied that the descendants of Abraham displayed a certain scorn and loftiness, as if the heirs of a nobler name. For as it is stated, in the account of the warlike expedition undertaken by Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 1), that he conquered the Emims in Kiriathaim, *i.e.* in the land subsequently known as Moab, and as Moses asserts (Deut. ii. 10) that in former times the Emims lived in this country, it is very probable that, even prior to the emigration of Israel from Canaan to Egypt,

the Moabites were the permanent possessors of the soil, and had been there fully five hundred years when the Hebrews returned. Nor was it otherwise, it would seem, with the kindred nation of the Ammonites on the north, who had dispossessed the Zamzummims as far as the Jabbok (Deut. iii. 16; Josh. xii. 2). This river was the boundary of the sons of Ammon.

Although the Israelites originally passed outside of the Moabite frontier, yet, as they advanced towards the north-eastern part of the territory, they were permitted free transit through it, and even to make encampments within it.[1] This is shown from the list of halting-places, as well as from the story of Balaam: indeed, there are not wanting plain indications that Israel tarried a considerable time in this country; connected itself by close ties with the people of Moab; and at a subsequent period, when it had taken possession of Canaan, that it looked back upon the period spent there with great satisfaction.

This was the brilliant era of the victory over the common enemy of Moab and Israel, the two Amorite kings, whose subjugation was effected on the north frontier of the Moabites, and gave a fresh impulse to the success of the Israelites. The pleasure with which the Hebrews looked back upon that most splendid[2] of their early victories, shows itself in some fragments that remain of a triumphal song (Num. xxi. 14, 15), in the hymn which celebrated the conquest of Sihon (Num. xxi. 27–30), and in the refrain of cheerful melodies like that sung at the wells dug with the staves of kings (Num. xxi. 17, 18). The allusions[3] to Ijim, Dibon, Gad, and Diblathaim (Num. xxxiii. 45–47)—places which are not in the desert, but in the heart of a fruitful country—show that Israel was not confined entirely to the wilderness, although it held firm to the command of Jehovah not to do injury to Moab. The Hebrews were even permitted to purchase food and water of the Moabites.

The reason of the mutual kindness of feeling between the

[1] Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. pp. 207–214.

[2] Hengstenberg's *Erläuterung der wichtigsten und schwierigsten Abschnitte des Pentateuchs*, Berlin 1841; *Geschichte Bileams*, p. 235.

[3] Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. pp. 209, 210.

Israelites and Moabites, and which did not exist in the case of the equally nearly related but defiant Edomites, lay in the oppressed condition of the Moabites under the superior power of the Amorites. The reason that they did not undertake any hostile enterprise against Israel, was not so much because they supposed that the powerful Amorites would drive back the invaders into the desert, as from the hope that the victory of Israel would free them too from these new oppressors.

For, as we have seen above, the Amorites, with their king Sihon at their head, had, shortly before the Israelitish invasion, set themselves against the Moabites, and against Chemosh the god of Moab, and had taken away all their territory between the Arnon at the south and the Jabbok at the north. They had converted Heshbon also into their own capital.

This act of robbery[1] was all the more fraught with peril to Moab, that an Amorite kingdom had now thrust itself between it and its northern ally, the Ammonites; for Ammon confined its exertions thereafter simply to the holding its southern frontier, the Jabbok, against the Amorites (Num. xxi. 24).

This intermediate territory, which had been wrested from the Moabites, had to be crossed by the Israelites, in order that they might reach the fords of the Jordan, and enter the Promised Land. The new possessors, the Amorites, would not permit a peaceful passage through it; the sword was appealed to, and that great victory was won which was fraught with such momentous interests to Israel.

Moses sent messengers from his camp, then in the wilderness of Kedemoth, *i.e.* the eastern country, to Sihon king of Heshbon, and bade them greet him with friendly words (Deut. ii. 26–37; Num. xxi. 21–26): "Let me pass through thy land: I will go along by the highway, I will neither turn unto the right hand nor to the left. Thou shalt sell me meat for money, that I may eat; and give me water for money, that I may drink; only I will pass through on my feet." Sihon did not grant the request, however: he collected all his armed men, and attacked the Israelites at Jaazar. He was overcome, and his land taken from him, from the Arnon to the Jabbok—that is, from the boundary of Moab to that of Ammon. All his cities were wrested from his hand, all the inhabitants destroyed, all the

[1] Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. p. 210.

cattle taken away as booty: "From Aroer, which is by the brink of the river of Arnon, and from the city that is by the river, even unto Gilead [on the south side of the Jabbok], there was not one city too strong for us: the Lord our God delivered all unto us." This was the occasion which called forth the Song of Victory contained in Num. xxi. 30, full of exultant scorn over the downfallen Amorites, who had lately tyrannized so despotically over the weaker Moabites: "We have shot at them: Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon, and we have laid them waste even unto Nophah [Nobah of Judg. viii. 11], which reacheth unto Medeba."[1] This was before Heshbon, afterwards rebuilt by Reuben, had become the important city which it afterwards was (Num. xxxii. 37).

The result of this brilliant victory is seen in the emphasis which is always afterwards laid upon the Arnon as the boundary of Moab, Israel claiming in behalf of Reuben the right to possess the territory southward as far as to that stream. Nor have we any reason for supposing that Moab made an effort to recover of the Israelites the territory which had formerly been theirs. It was not strong enough, indeed, to enforce any such claims; but it is evident that the people of the country had not forgotten that their territory formerly extended much farther to the north: for the name of the level district at the north end of the Dead Sea, opposite to the plains of Jericho (Josh. iv. 13, v. 10) and north of the Arnon, the northern boundary of Moab after the Amorites had taken away a part of their territory, long bore the name "the plains of Moab."[2] This title shows how fresh was the recollection of the former possession; and at the time of Moses the Amorite invasion had by no means caused it to fade. After the apportioning of the territory to Reuben and Gad, however, the tribe could not sustain itself; and the last allusion to it occurs in the book of Joshua, in connection with the allotting of the district to the Israelites (xiii. 32): "These are the countries which Moses did distribute for inheritance in the plains of Moab, on the other side Jordan, by Jericho eastward."

The locality known as the plains of Moab, although no

[1] Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. p. 212.

[2] Hengstenberg, *Die wichstigsten Abschn. des Pentateuchs*, Pt. i. 1842; *Gesch. Bileams*, pp. 226, 230; comp. Ewald, ii. p. 217.

longer belonging to the former possessors, became subsequently a place of great interest and importance to Israel. It was from it that the expedition against the Amorite king of Bashan proceeded;[1] it was in its immediate vicinity that the effort of Balak to secure Balaam's curse upon Israel took place; it was in these plains of Moab that Moses issued the laws which were to serve for the governance of Israel (Deut. i.); it was there that the last retaliatory war was waged against the Midianites (Num. xxxi.); it was in the district closely adjoining that Moses died; and lastly, it was thence that Israel marched victoriously across the Jordan into Canaan (Josh. iii.).

It appears, therefore, that after the success in the conflict with Sihon, Israel dwelt for a season in the land of the Amorites (Num. xxi. 31–35). During this time Moses despatched messengers to Jaazar [in the upper Jabbok, near the Ammonite boundary and that of the Amorite kingdom of Bashan]. The Israelites then turned (probably towards the north-east, leaving the country of the Ammonites at the west), and proceeded along the road to Bashan. Here they were met by Og, and a battle took place near Edrei, afterwards Adraa, in which the Israelites were victorious. The Amorite king, his sons, and all his followers, and sixty cities, were captured (Deut. iii. 4, 5). We then find the Hebrews encamping in the plains of Moab, just across the Jordan from Jericho. The name Shittim, *i.e.* place of acacias, is elsewhere given to the place (Num. xxv. 1, xxxiii. 49).

From Josh. xii. 2, it appears that the Amorite rule proper extended northward beyond the Jabbok as far as to the Sea of Chinnereth, *i.e.* Galilee; while the power of the Amorite king of Bashan reached from Ashtaroth and Edrei, extended northward as far as Mount Hermon (*i.e.* to the foot of the Lebanon), and to the territory of the Geshurites and the Maachathites.

It is not surprising that the power of Israel, exhibited in two such victories over the great Amorite kings Sihon and Og, should infuse a spirit of fear and dismay into the timid heart of the Moabite king Balak (Num. xxii. 23, 24). Uniting himself to the elders of the Midianites, and in the true spirit of a shepherd race, comparing the conquering march of the Israelites to an ox that "licketh up the grass of the fields," he did not go

[1] Hengstenberg, *i.a.l.* p. 25.

boldly forth to meet and overcome the invader, but turned for help to the priests, invoking the special assistance of the most renowned of them—Balaam, a Syrian prophet or seer, who was living near the Euphrates[1] (Num. xxii. 5, xxiii. 7). He summoned this man from his distant home to his own capital on the Arnon, and sought to induce him to curse Israel: "Come now therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people; for they are too mighty for me: for I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed." The story of this eminent seer, summoned from a place far away that he might blight Israel with his curse, unblinded with the honours paid to him by Balak, and stedfastly refusing to change his blessing into a curse, is declared by Gesenius[2] to be a genuine epic, a delineation worthy of the greatest poet of all time. It gives, too, a very clear insight into the spiritual condition of the people then living, particularly of the Moabites. More than this, it affords a most trustworthy picture of the geographical[3] features involved in these historical events, whose mutual relations have of late been so carefully traced by European commentators, while the localities involved have been made the subject of the most careful search, as I shall have occasion in another place to show.

For the present it is enough to say, that although the tribes of Reuben and Gad, which were especially rich in cattle, desired very eagerly to enter upon the possession of the territory wrested from the Amorites, and which was remarkable for its excellent pasturage, yet the formal permission was not granted; for it was suspected that the two tribes would be unfaithful in the great work of subjugating the country on the other side of Jordan, and would quietly settle down, leaving their brethren to fight without their assistance (Num. xxxii. 6, 16–18). It is clearly shown by the biblical narrative, that a portion of the early population of the country remained until its subsequent possession by the Gadites in the north and the Reubenites in the south (Num. xxxii. 33–38), while the half tribe of Manasseh, *i.e.* the descendants of Machir, were compelled to

[1] Hengstenberg, *i.a.l.* p. 234.

[2] Gesenius, in *Jesaias Commentar*, Part i. p. 504.

[3] Hengstenberg, *i.a.l.* pp. 4, 235–251; comp. Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. pp. 215–217.

struggle still with the Amorites for the possession of the pasture land which subsequently became theirs.

Even after Israel had crossed the Jordan, warfare[1] with the former lords of the territory east of that river did not wholly cease; for what Balak wished, but did not dare to do, was afterwards undertaken by Eglon, one of the subsequent kings of Moab (Judg. iii. 12–30). He attacked the city of Jericho, and compelled Israel to pay tribute to him for two years. This yoke was at length cast off by the bravery of one of the Hebrews; and so much were the mutual relations of the Israelites and the Moabites changed after this, that for a long time, as we learn from the book of Ruth, such a friendly spirit existed, that Moab became a refuge for exiled Hebrews, or those who chose to live among foreigners rather than in their own land. But this condition of affairs was not permanent. Saul, David, and the kings of Judah as well as of Israel, were engaged in constant encounters with the Moabites, in which they sometimes had the advantage, and were sometimes worsted. David, however, subjugated them completely (2 Sam. viii. 2, 12, xxiii. 20), and compelled them to pay tribute; and after the formation of the two rival kingdoms of Judah and Israel, a hundred thousand lambs, and as many rams, were exacted of the Moabites. After the death of Ahab (897 B.C.), however, they refused to pay tribute; and the year after, during the reign of Jehoram, they had grown bold enough to send predatory expeditions through Canaan itself. At the time of Isaiah, the cities of the Amorite portion of Moab had come entirely into the possession of the Moabites. The tribes of Reuben and Gad had already been overpowered by the Assyrian Pul, Tiglath Pileser, and Shalmanezer, and carried into exile; and the primitive occupants of their domain could press in and possess it again, as the Edomites did in Judah. It is very probable, too, that many of the places within the territory assigned to Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, never fairly came under the real dominion of the Hebrews, and always remained a nominal possession. This was very often the case with fertile tracts mentioned in the book of Joshua, lying in the territory of the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Philistines, and which, though spoken of as captured by Israel,

[1] Gesenius, *Gesch. des Moabit. Volks*, in *Jesaias Comment.* Pt. i. pp. 501–507.

yet never could be strictly said to be held by their captors for any available use.

The Moabites next appear as the allies of Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans (2 Kings xxiv. 2). They were unable to suppress their joy at the downfall of the Israelitish power, notwithstanding the old ties of blood which connected Moab and Israel (Ezek. xxv. 8–11). Their later fate is unknown to us. It is possible that it was the same as that of the Amorites, who were attacked by Nebuchadnezzar five years after the destruction of Jerusalem, and carried into exile.

The national hatred between the Hebrews and the Moabites had meanwhile mounted to the highest point: it uttered itself among the Israelitish people in the language of extreme scorn at the ignominious extraction of the Moab race. The prophets expressed the same in the curses which they heaped upon Moab. The Moabites responded not only in hostile and predatory attacks, but in words of derision and of boastful pride.

Amos foretells the downfall of Moab as the result of its cruelty; Zephaniah predicts the same as the penalty of their scorn and contempt; Jeremiah turns against the Moabites afresh the curses of Balaam; Isaiah does the same; and Ezekiel condemns sternly their exultation at the downfall of Judah (Ezek. xxv. 8–11).

In no ideal picture of brilliant victories, and of a golden future for Israel, was there wanting a scene depicting the subjection of Moab. The apparent drawing together of both races after the captivity, and the alliances by marriage which took place, led to nothing permanent; and even this connection was speedily checked by the theocratic zeal of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra ix. 1; Neh. xiii. 1). During the epoch of the Maccabees the Moabites are scarcely mentioned. Josephus speaks of some Moabite cities as existing between the Arnon and the Jabbok at the time of Alex. Jannæus (*Antiq.* xiii. 15). Since that day, however, the name of that nation has disappeared, losing itself, like that of the Edomites, Midianites, Ammonites, and others, beneath the flood of Arabian tribes which set in from the east and covered all that land.

X. THE AMMONITES.

This tribe, of similar descent with that of Moab—like that, too, the conqueror of the primitive people of the land, and subsequently the objects of Amorite rapacity—experienced a fortune similar in all respects to that of the Moabites.

At the outset Israel did not interfere with the southern boundary of the Ammonites, the river Jabbok (Num. xxi. 24), but were contented, so far as the country east of the Jordan is concerned, with the territory which the Amorites held, and which they had wrested from the Moabites and the Ammonites. This occasioned many quarrels, especially since, during the time of Joshua and the first centuries of the judges' rule, the children of Israel paid idolatrous worship to the gods of their neighbours, including the Ammonites (Judg. x. 6), and contracted marriage alliances with their daughters. The Ammonites not only attacked the Hebrews on the east side of Jordan, but they passed over the river and attacked Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim, carrying confusion wherever they went. At last, however, the Hebrews gained possession of Gilead, Jephthah at their head, and passed triumphantly through Manasseh and Mizpeh (at the foot of Hermon, including Banias and el-Huleh). Judg. xi. 33: "And he smote them from Aroer [the northern place of this name near the head waters of the Jabbok, not the southern one on the Arnon], even till thou come to Minnith, even twenty cities, and unto the plain of the vineyards, with a very great slaughter. Thus the children of Ammon were subdued before the children of Israel."

Their subsequent boldness in attacking Gilead, and the threats which they expressed against the city of Jabesh in especial, drew down the wrath of Saul upon them, who, by his victory over Nahash the Ammonite king, gained that recognition as a warrior and a deliverer which subsequently placed him on the throne. At a later period, the treatment of the messengers whom David sent to the new king after the death of Nahash, with messages of kindness and consolatory words, led to a fearful retaliatory war, from whose destructive effects not even the prompt assistance rendered by the troops of Hadadezer the king of Syria could preserve the Ammonites. Terrible slaughters ensued: Rabbah (Rabbath Ammon) was for

years in a state of siege, and at last captured, the crown torn from the brow of the king, all valuable property contained in the cities of Ammon taken away, and their inhabitants cruelly destroyed.

New risings followed new subjections; the same national hatred as in Moab inflamed Ammon against Israel. The Ammonites fought against Judah under Nebuchadnezzar; and after the captivity they bound themselves to prevent the re-erection of the walls of Jerusalem. They were impelled to this by the command of Moses (Deut. xxiii. 3), "An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord; even to their tenth generation shall they not enter into the congregation of the Lord." At a later period, however, some of the Israelites, and among them Solomon, broke through this edict, and married Ammonite wives.

Under Antiochus Epiphanes the king of Syria, who by his tyranny and scornful behaviour in the temple made his name hateful in Jerusalem, the Ammonites, his allies, found their last opportunity to avenge themselves on the Jews. This occurred, too, at a time when they were suffering greatly from injuries experienced at the hands of the last king of Syria, Antiochus III., who had despoiled their capital, Rabbath Ammon, afterwards known as Philadelphia. With the rise of Mattathias the Asmonæan, who, in conjunction with his heroic son Judas Maccabæus, opposed the invasion of Antiochus Epiphanes, a new era of victory was introduced for Israel: the Ammonites were permanently driven out from the territory west of the Jordan, and in that east of the river their name disappeared like that of the Moabites before the new Arabian appellations had forced their way. The worship of their god Moloch found more favour west of the Jordan than that of the Moabite Chemosh.

After this review of the tribes dwelling outside of Canaan and upon its borders, but not partaking of the strict Canaanite character, the Philistines alone remain to be spoken of. But as this people was entirely without close relations to the inland tribes already mentioned, and was a maritime nation of colonists, dwelling only on the south-west coast, and having peculiar institutions, a peculiar history, and great independence of other nations, and then disappearing, their influence on Palestine and

its fortunes was closely linked with certain definite localities, whose geographical relations we must understand before we can deal intelligently with the Philistines. I shall treat of these places in detail when I come to speak of the coast of Palestine. Meanwhile we pass to the special geographical character of the interior.

PART I.

SEC. 4. THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF THE JORDAN VALLEY; THE RIVER SYSTEM ITSELF, AND ITS BASIN.

AS our preliminary sketch has made us sufficiently acquainted with the general character of this most striking feature in the physical geography of Palestine, we will pass without further delay to study the river in detail—studying it in its upper, middle, and lower course.

CHAPTER I.

I. THE UPPER COURSE OF THE JORDAN, FROM ITS SOURCES IN THE LEBANON RANGE TO THE WATERS OF MEROM, OR THE LAKE EL HULEH.

ON the southern slope of the eastern Lebanon (Anti-Lebanon, or more correctly, Anti-Libanus, *Ptol.* v. 15, 8, etc.), which sends out two high spurs, one eastward towards Damascus, the other south-westward towards Hasbeya, lies intermediate between the two, a third and higher spur running southward, and forming the northern boundary of Israel—the majestic Hermon, known by the Sidonians as Sirion, and by the Amorites as Shenir,—names which indicate a bastion, or strong military post[1] (Deut. iv. 48, iii. 9). Its scarped sides, which as early as the time of Solomon used to supply the inhabitants of the valley at its foot, Jerusalem, Tyre, and Sidon, with the luxury of snow, Abulfeda, a native of the district, spoke

[1] Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterth.* i. p. 235.

of as *nive immortali opertus*;[1] and even now it is the friendly custom of the Jews in Hasbeya to offer their guests a draught of freshly melted snow water from Hermon. It is these ice-clad heights which feed the springs of the Jordan, flowing as they do above and below the surface to supply the great stream of Palestine. The passages in Joshua—for example, xiii. 5, "All Lebanon toward the sunrising, from Baal-gad under Mount Hermon [*i.e.* from Panium, or more probably Hasbeya[2]], unto the entering into Hamath"—show clearly that the present snow-capped summit of Jebel es Sheikh (the Chief), with the southern appendage Jebel Heish, first thoroughly explored by Burckhardt and Seetzen early in this century, correspond precisely in situation to the Hermon of the Mosaic period.

We are indebted in part to the two travellers just named, and in part to their successors in the same field, for a satisfactory account of the country in which the sources of the Jordan are found, so far as it could be explored without the help of the best mathematical survey.

Between Hermon and the Anti-Lebanon of Hasbeya is the fountain-head of the longest western arm of the Jordan, Nahr Hasbany. This, although alluded to by Fürrer von Haimendorf in 1566, who passed through a portion of the Jordan valley, yet was first described by Seetzen with great accuracy in 1806, as the most northerly, and at the same time the most affluent,[3] branch of the river. This was a new view, for in ancient times it was not regarded as the chief source. Burckhardt,[4] who followed the course of this mountain stream from its fountain-head directly southward to its entrance into the plain of el-Huleh, confirmed Seetzen's view, and then turned his course eastward around the southern foot of Hermon to the celebrated spring of Banias or Paneas (Cæsarea Philippi), which, as at Herod's grotto of Pan, adorned with a temple in honour of Cæsar Augustus, was known to Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 10, 3). In two other passages (*Antiq.* v. i. 22, and *Bell. Jud.* i. 21, 23) he repeats the statement, that the source of the

[1] Abulfedæ *Tabul. Syr.* ed. Koehler, p. 96, Note 96.

[2] Keil, *Commentary on Joshua, etc.*, on ch. xi. 16-23.

[3] V. Zach, *Mon. Corr.* xviii. 1808; *Letter from Acre*, 1806, pp. 340-344.

[4] J. L. Burckhardt, *Trav. in Syria and the Holy Land*, Lond. 1822, pp. 30-37.

Jordan was under an arching rock, at the southern base of the mountain, and adds that the Napthalites had possession of upper Galilee as far as to Lebanon, and the springs of the Jordan, which issue from Hermon.

Here, in a charming spot on the southern extremity of the mountain range, according to the old account, the head waters of the sacred river made their appearance, where a dark grotto led to unfathomable reservoirs concealed within the limestone cliffs. This whole region, together with the neighbouring forest, and the peak towering above all, was in ancient time sacred to Pan, guardian protector of woods and of herds; and his name seems to have given rise to the old appellation which, in a somewhat changed form, remains to the present time.

According to this, there is no doubt as to the identity of the celebrated source of the Jordan, among the ancients and among natives of the country who have lived in comparatively recent time; but Josephus speaks of yet another locality, Phiala, east of Paneas, which he held to be the true source of the Jordan; and in four other places he alludes to minor springs that fed the river, and which he supposes to be connected with Dan and the setting up of the golden calf. Regarding both of the statements respecting the sources of the Jordan, there was for a long time a great deal of uncertainty; and there must have continually been doubts and hypotheses, until there was a thorough personal examination of that richly watered and variously diversified landscape. The exact Burckhardt[1] explored the region in an admirable spirit of discovery, but with merely partial results, in his journey from the Hasbeya Valley to Banias; and on his return along the north side of the Lebanon to Damascus, in October 1810, as well as upon his second journey in June 1812, from Damascus *via* Kanneytra and Birket Nefah (which he erroneously held[2] to be Lake Phiala) to Jacob's Bridge, below Lake Huleh.

Burckhardt was followed, of course with some deviations from the routes taken by himself, by several travellers whose observations are valuable: Banks, Irby, and Mangles[3] in 1818; Buckingham and Schubert,[4] 1837; Captain Simonds and

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 43.
[2] The same, pp. 311–316.
[3] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* pp. 285–291.
[4] Schubert, *Reise*, iii. pp. 260–270.

Robe[1] in 1840; the American missionaries, Wolcott and Thomson, 1843; and lastly, by the very careful observer Dr Wilson,[2] in 1843 and 1844. To Wolcott and Thomson[3] I wish to express a special obligation.

In the following pages I shall gather up the results already gained, and endeavour to depict the physical character of the country where the Jordan rises, and to trace all its tributaries, thus far known, to their confluence in el-Huleh. We shall be obliged in the search to follow the explorers just named through highways and byways, and shall hope to find much light shed upon the connection of history and geography in this remarkable locality.

DISCURSION I.

THE SOURCES OF THE JORDAN, AND THE UPPER COURSE OF THE RIVER AS FAR AS TO LAKE EL-HULEH.

1. *The mountain system of Hermon (Jebel es Sheikh), or of Southern Anti-Lebanon, with Jebel Safed and Jebel Heish.*

From the central group of Hermon or Aermon (as Jerome[4] heard it called), which towers above every other object, the study of the entire landscape proceeds. It is therefore a matter of regret that no one has as yet ascended its highest peak, which bears the common name of Jebel es Sheikh, or the Chief. All travellers have admired its majestic height, which was supposed by Russegger,[5] looking from Tabor, to be about 9500 Paris feet. He describes the mountain as towering up sublimely into the clear blue sky, and as being covered with snow as far down as the Jebel et Teltsh. Previous travellers, who had approached from the south and the south-west sides, had

[1] El. Smith and W. Wolcott, in *Biblioth. Sacra*, ed. b. E. Robinson, New York 1843, pp. 11–15.

[2] J. Wilson, *The Lands of the Bible*, Edin. 1847, vol. ii. pp. 111–325.

[3] W. M. Thomson, *The Sources of the Jordan, the Lake el Huleh, and the adjacent country, with notes by Robinson*, in *Bibl. Sacra*, vol. iii. 1846, pp. 184–214.

[4] *Onomastic. s.v. Aermon;* Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 425.

[5] Russegger, *R. in Pal.* vol. iii. 1847, p. 130.

observed only one peak; but Wolcott, who looked at it from many points, discovered that it had two, the northern one of which bears the name of Bint Jebeil.[1] Robinson[2] even saw from Tabor only one summit, since the two which can be elsewhere seen, appear, when looked at from that point, to blend in a huge pyramid. He was baffled, as Pococke had been, with the plural form which the Psalmist had used, not without reason (Ps. xlii. 6): "O my God, my soul is cast down within me: therefore will I remember Thee from the land of Jordan, and of the Hermonites," *i.e.* Hermonim, instead of the singular form Hermon. Wilson[3] observed this double peak as he passed through the south-west corner of el-Huleh, and has given a sketch of it in his *Lands of the Bible*.

A far better point whence to observe the entire group of which Hermon is the centre, is at the northern end of Lake Tiberias, especially on the high plateau of Benit, a half-hour's distance north-east of the well-known city of Safed, which itself lies 3000 feet[4] above the level of el-Huleh. Towards the north-east may be seen, perched upon a rocky eminence, the castle of Banias; and twice as far away towers in all its majesty the lofty Jebel es Sheikh, with its long narrow glaciers, which stretch like white glistening bands from the crown of ice on the summit far down, and shimmer in the midsummer sun. The uncommon clearness of the atmosphere affords a distinct view of the whole mighty Lebanon range running from north-west to south-east, and of the Anti-Lebanon with Hermon at the south; the two systems separated by the long and elevated valley of Bekka[5] (Cœle-Syria), through a great part of which the Litany dashes towards the south-west. How far the fructifying dews of Hermon, whose effects are very visible in the rank vegetation of the meadows, fields, and forests of the immediate neighbourhood, may extend their influence, is a

[1] Mr Porter discovered in 1852 that Hermon has three summits, the loftiest one of which is the most northern. The highest point has been ascertained by Maj. Scott to be 9376 Eng. feet.—Ed.

[2] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 250; *Bibl. Sacra*, 1843, p. 13; Abulf. *Tab. Syr.* ed. Koehler, p. 18, Note 78.

[3] J. Wilson, *The Lands of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 161.

[4] Robinson, ii. 441.

[5] Dr Steinheil, *Höhen-messungen auf v. Schubert's Reise*, *Bayr. Gel.* Aug. 1840, No. 47, March, p. 382.

subject on which we cannot now enter. It is enough to remark, however, that the passage (Ps. cxxxiii. 3), "As the dew of Hermon, and as the dew which descended upon the mountain of Zion," is only a simile, and that it can hardly be meant that the effect of the dews of Hermon were felt as far as Jerusalem; for in Deut. iv. 48 (compare iii. 9) the name Zion is used with reference to Hermon itself.

The Anti-Lebanon, or Jebel esh Sharkie, as it is called, meaning the east mountain, divides into two parts at the latitude of Damascus, which lies at its eastern base. Between these two divergent spurs is the Wadi et Teim, opening towards the south, and completely parallel with the basin of the Litany.

The more easterly of these two side ranges extends in a south-westerly direction, and is the real continuation of the Anti-Lebanon. Its loftiest peak is the Jebel es Sheikh, or Hermon, lying between Rasheya and Hasbeya, and, according to some, towering higher than even Jebel Sanin, the highest peak of the Lebanon.

South of Hasbeya this chain begins to lose its height, which comes to its maximum in Hermon, and diminishes more and more till the Wadi et Teim, which is traversed by the Hasbany arm of the Jordan, opens north-west from Banias, and expands into the plain of el-Huleh, whither the Hasbeya branch continues its course, also following a generally southern direction.

The more westerly of the two divergent branches of the Anti-Lebanon, the one lying on the western side of Wadi et Teim, pursues a general south-westerly direction, and is lower and longer than the other: it runs along the south-east side of the basin of the Litany, separating the Hasbany branch from it, but without having any distinctive appellation. South-west of Hasbeya, at the point where the Litany dashes in the wildest manner through the south-western Lebanon, this parallel spur of the Anti-Lebanon seems to press so hard upon it, that only a narrow ravine, as it were, is left between the perpendicular crags; and through this ravine the Litany urges its tortuous way, its dominant course being north-west towards Tyre. The Jordan branch of Hasbeya, on the contrary, runs south-easterly from this low spur of the Anti-Lebanon, its course being away

from the sea, and giving the first hint of the existence of that great sunken inland basin of the Jordan.[1]

With this double, and even triple, breaking of the Litany in a place whose geological peculiarities seem to indicate a violent convulsion in the mountain chain,[2] the lofty Lebanon, the western chain of the two parallel ranges, comes to its maximum elevation. It continues its course for some distance toward the south, a long broad line of hills traversing northern Galilee, and bounding the basin of el-Huleh on the west. These sometimes rise to a considerable elevation, and sustain plateaus even 3000 feet above the level of the sea,—those of Benit, Hûnin, and Safed, for example. The range comes to an abrupt termination in the hills of Nazareth, which decline steeply to the plain of Esdraelon. Here the Lebanon system may be said to close.

The mighty Jebel es Sheikh or Hermon, in like manner, does not abruptly terminate the Anti-Lebanon range, but serves as a point of transition to a row of low broad-backed hills running directly southward, shutting in the Lake Huleh lowlands on the east, as Jebel Safed does on the west. This row of hills, which Burckhardt traversed throughout, is called Jebel Heish.[3] It is separated by the plateau of Jolan (Gaulanitis) on the south-east by a patch of stony land, an hour's distance across, in which the Arabs often take refuge from the exactions and impressments of the pashas. Jebel Heish runs as far southward on the east of el-Huleh as Jebel Safed on the west (as Abulfeda stated[4] with entire accuracy), terminating at the northern extremity of Lake Tiberias, the Tell el Faras, three and a half hours north of the Sheriat or Hieromax, being the last eminence of the range. Here, with the steep crags north of Om Keis, the open country of Jolan (Gaulanitis) terminates, and Bashan (Batanea) begins. The commencement of the Batanean uplands is indicated by the southern chain of Wostye, and yet farther south el-Adjelun, regarding which Burckhardt

[1] E. Robinson, in *Bib. Sacra*, New York 1843, p. 14; together with the sketch entitled, *Country around the Sources of the Jordan.*

[2] C. de Bertou, *Mem. sur la depression, etc.*, in *Bulletin de la Soc. geog. de Paris*, 1839, T. xii. p. 140.

[3] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 287.

[4] Abulf. *Tab. Syr.* ed. Koehler, p. 103.

remarks that it would be entirely incorrect to connect these southern ranges with the more northerly one of Jebel Heish.[1] We have as yet but meagre details regarding the altitude of the ranges and separate mountains alluded to above; but the practised eye of my friend Russegger[2] has determined approximately the height of some of the leading points. From him I quote the following details :—

	Feet.
Height of Jebel es Sheikh (Anti-Lebanon), . . .	9500
„ Ajlun, east of the Jordan valley, . . .	6000
„ Jolan (in Gaulon), ...	5000
„ Plateau of Hauran, ...	2500
„ Valley of Hasbeya, ...	1800
„ the Peak of Jebel es Sheikh, seen from Tiberias,	8500
Highest Peak of Jebel el Druz, ...	6000

We have now closed our sketch of the mountain land adjacent to and connected with Hermon, or Jebel es Sheikh. From this diversified district flow the various streams which feed the upper Jordan, all of them advancing towards a common centre, the basin of el-Huleh, and that portion of the sacred river which lies north of Lake Tiberias.

2. *The east side of the Hermon system, with the two main roads which lead from Banias to Damascus.*

Burckhardt has displayed the physical character of the district indicated in the above heading. The central point which he selects to group the objects of geographical interest is Kanneytra, which lies on the main caravan route from Lake Tiberias to Damascus, one hour's distance east-south-east from Banias, and the residence of an aga. It gives its own name, el-Kanneytra, to all the country south of Hermon.

There are two main roads[3] which lead from Banias to Damascus, along the eastern slope of Hermon and the Anti-Lebanon system. The more southerly one of the two runs by way of Kanneytra and Sasa, and is the one selected by all caravans of pilgrims going from Jerusalem to Damascus and Aleppo, although it is exposed to the incursions of the Arabs, from its more

[1] See the corrected drawing in Berghaus and Kiepert's Atlases.

[2] Russegger, *Reise*, iii. pp. 211-217.

[3] Burckhardt, *Trav.* pp. 43-47.

open character. The more northerly lies closer to the mountains, and is in part overhung by them. Burckhardt speaks of them both in detail, as he took the northern one on his way to Damascus, and the southern one on his return two years later.

The Northern Route.—He found it a three days' journey from Banias to Damascus. Leaving the former city and its plain, he passed behind its old fortress, and ascended the mountain ridge of Jebel Heish, going by a number of huts belonging to the fellahs of Banias, who in summer tend their herds upon the uplands, and make cheese for the Damascus market, but in winter withdraw into their villages again. After the first hour and a half he reached a spring, a short distance beyond which lies the ruined city of Hazuri, which had never been visited by any traveller.[1] The mountains, covered with pasture land and forests of oak, run northeasterly for another hour's distance, to the village of Jubeta, where live fifty Turkish and ten Greek families, which support themselves by cultivating olives and tending cattle, and which belong to the domain of Hashbeya. Here Burckhardt spent the first night. The neighbourhood abounded in wild swine; but wolves, bears, wild goats, and the common panther, were not seldom seen.[2] The skin of the latter is very much prized by the Arabs for saddle-covers. Burckhardt heard that there were many ruins in the neighbourhood, but left it to some future traveller to explore them. Their names are Dara, Bokatha, Bassida, Aluba, Afkerdowa, and Hauratha. These seem to be the largest, and still exhibit walls and arches. Less important ones are Enzuby, Hauarit, Kleile, Emteile, Mesherefe, Zar, Katlube, Kfeire, Kafua, and Beit el Berek.

The second day's march brought Burckhardt, after three-quarters of an hour's journey, to the village of Mejel, inhabited by three or four Christian families, while the remainder of the population consists of Druses. These affiliate in part with the Christians and in part with the Mohammedans, keeping the fast of Ramadan, and imitating closely the example of the Druse emir of the Lebanon, whose plastic faith permits him to keep a Latin confessor in his house, and to visit the

[1] Gesenius' ed. of Burckhardt, i. p. 98.

[2] Von Schubert, *Reise in Morgenl.* iii. p. 119. See Gesenius' note to Burckhardt, i. p. 99.

mosques when he is in Damascus. The village lies upon a small plain, which crowns one of the moderately high hills. The place is well suited to building, and has an abundance of springs. After an hour's journey Burckhardt passed the highest point of the eminence, which is in part composed of limestone and in part of a porous tufa, softer than that in the valley of el-Huleh. Oak is the prevailing wood; but there is a tree—Khukh ed dib, *i.e.* Bear-plum—whose fruit is very refreshing.

An hour and a quarter farther towards the north-east he came to the Beit el Janne, *i.e.* House of Paradise, situated in a narrow wadi, at a place where the valley opens a little; on the west side of it, several sepulchres are hewn out of the chalky cliff. A quarter of an hour farther on is a copious spring, called by the name of the village, and supplying water enough to turn a mill. A half-hour's walk eastward brings one to the foot of the mountain land.

From this point the way bore east-north-east, having the open land of Jolan on the right, and the chain of the Heish on the left, along whose base Burckhardt continued his journey for the rest of the day, to the village of Kfer Hauar. On the eastern slope of the range lie a number of villages. The road passes by a pile of stones twenty feet long, two feet high, and three wide, bearing the name of Nimrod's tomb. In the time of Pococke,[1] who travelled from Damascus hither in order to examine this monument, there seemed to have been some walls like those of a temple, fifteen feet square. At each end there still stands a great stone, and the whole structure did not seem to Burckhardt different from Turkish graves in general. On the right, an hour and a half's distance away, lies Sasa,[2] a station on the southern route to Damascus. A half-hour's distance from Kfer Hauar, and after passing a couple of little towers, the first one of which lies upon a hill, is the Druse village of Beitima, where Burckhardt spent the second night. Cotton is cultivated throughout the entire neighbourhood. On the third day's march an hour brought him to the village of Katana. The road winds along by the side of Jebel Heish, but subsequently bears away from the Damascus road northward. The stream,

[1] Rich. Pococke, *Description of the East*, Ger. trans. 1771, Pt. ii. p. 187.
[2] Koehler, Note 111, in Abulfed. *Tab. Syr.* p. 100.

whose source is found near the village above mentioned, where it waters extensive gardens, runs eastward from the chain to the great plain of Damascus. At the north-east the range receives another name, Jebel el Jushe; but in the neighbourhood of Damascus Jebel Salehie takes its place, or rather serves as a western link to bind it to Jebel es Sheikh. At Kefer Susa the gardens of Damascus begin.

The southern road from Damascus, by way of Lasa and Kanneytra to Jacob's Bridge, below Lake el Huleh.[1]—This route was traversed quicker than the former, in two days' journeys, or rather in twenty hours.

The first day's march.—From Kefer Susa, south-west to Sasa, six hours. After the first hour he passed the village of Dareya, where the celebrated gardens of Damascus cease. It was the time of the corn harvest, and the season also for irrigating the cotton fields, whose plants were to be seen throughout the whole extent of the broad plain.[2]

In two hours and a half, after passing the little stream flowing from the west of Katana, the village of Kobab, lying at the western extremity of a low range of hills, was reached: eastward, towards the high plain, are the villages of Moattaneye, Jedeide, and Artus; while west of the road, and in the direction of the distant mountain chain, are el-Ashrafe and Szahbnaya. Beyond Kobab the plain was cultivated for some distance.

Farther on, in the neighbourhood of the Seybarany river, which flows from the S.W. and W. of Jebel Heish and es-Sheik N.E. towards Damascus, Burckhardt found a khan erected for the accommodation of the great caravans which go from Jerusalem and Akka through this district. When the naturalist Bové[3] arrived at this khan on the river, he was surprised to see a grove of willows and poplars, and states that it was the only instance of arboriculture which he had noticed in his whole journey from Gaza to Damascus. The road follows the bank of the river, traversing no green meadows however,

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* pp. 311–316.

[2] Edrisi in Jaubert, i. pp. 349–355; Abulfedæ *Tab. Syriæ*, ed. Kochler, p. 100.

[3] Bové, Naturaliste, *Recit. d'un Voyage à Damas, etc.*, in *Bulletin de la Soc. Géogr. de Paris*, 1835, T. iii. p. 389.

but a stony wilderness bearing the name of War-ez-Zaky, and used as a place of refuge by Arabs when closely pursued. An hour and a quarter farther on, several gravestones indicate the murders committed on travellers by Druses, who rush down from the neighbouring heights of es-Sheikh, and plunder and destroy all who come in their way and are too weak to resist. The Seybarany here runs through a deep bed of black feldspar, which is so prevalent eastward in Hauran. A half-hour's distance farther, a firm bridge crosses the stream, and the road runs on to Sasa, a well-built village at the foot of a solitary hill. It has a good mosque and a spacious khan, in which Burckhardt spent the night.

Second day's march.—From Sasa to Jissr Beni Yakub, *i.e.* Jacob's Bridge, thirteen hours. According to Schubert's measurements,[1] who took the road leading from Damascus to Sasa in April 1837, we learn that a seven or eight hours' march is taken along a moderately elevated plateau, traversed by a range of low hills, rising but about six hundred feet. Schubert estimated Damascus to lie 2186 Par. feet above the sea, and the Khan el Sheikh 2455 feet, and Sasa 2788 feet, —about six hundred feet, therefore, higher than Damascus.

Burckhardt advanced with his little caravan from Sasa south-westward, and soon passed a little stream called the Meghannye, which does not flow as one would expect to find it doing—north-eastward to Damascus—but south-eastward, probably pouring its waters into the Sheriat or Hieromax, and thus into the Jordan in its middle course. A bridge spans it, and then there follows a long reach of rocky land, at the end of which there is a growth of oak, above which Jebel Heish is seen towering. According to the observations of Bové,[2] these oaks are found mixed with pistachio trees, often from nine to twelve feet in circumference, whose branches the Arabs burn for charcoal. A half-hour's distance farther the road passes a solitary hill, Tell Jobba, and a tract of uncultivated land; and some distance farther on a ruined khan called Kereymbe, where begins the ascent to the mountain called Heish el Kanneytra. This peak is the true southern continuation of Jebel Heish, and seems to attain no special prominence in comparison with

[1] Dr Steinheil, *Höhen-messungen*, p. 382.

[2] Bové, *i.a.l.* iii. p. 389.

the neighbouring heights, the loftiest one of which, crossed by Schubert, was 2815 Par. feet above the level of the sea. A prominent isolated eminence one and a half hour's distance from the road bears the name Tel Hara. After seven hours Burckhardt reached Kanneytra, which had been deserted by its inhabitants in consequence of recent attacks by Turkish troops. It is surrounded by stout walls, and has a good khan and a handsome mosque, tastefully ornamented with granite columns. Copious springs are found in the neighbourhood, and on the north side of the village there were some ruins which caused Burckhardt to conjecture that the place was the ancient Canatha. Schubert[1] doubted the truth of this hypothesis, as he was not able to discover any traces of really antique structures. According to him, the khan of Kanneytra lies 2850 feet above the sea, on the Jebel Heish, which seems to sink rather than rise as it runs north toward Jebel es Sheikh. After a few hours' rest, a direction was taken towards the south-east, where the Tel el Khanzyr, and to the south Tel el Faras, rise as isolated peaks above the average level of Jebel Heish, without attaining any important altitude, however. An abundance of pasturage is found to supply the herds of the Beduins who range through the neighbouring country, and who during the heat of summer ascend the heights of Jebel es Sheikh. A low growth of Valonia oaks, accompanied by terebinths, covers the soil to an altitude of two thousand feet above the sea.[2]

Only a half-hour's distance from Kanneytra, Burckhardt passed Tel Abu Nedy, with the grave of the sheikh of the same name. A good hour S.W. of Kanneytra, he saw very near the road a pool of water called Birket er Ram, a hundred and twenty paces in circumference, and fed by two perennial springs. Huge heaps of stones in the neighbourhood seem to indicate the former existence there of a city a quarter of an hour's circuit. Five minutes' walk farther on, and behind a clump of oak trees, there is another basin or pool excavated in the black basaltic stone, but filled only with rain-water. Beyond this the road begins to assume a striking grade downward, leaving the mountain as it now does: nine and a half hours' farther on there comes into view on the left a swampy

[1] Von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 269. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 172, 262, 270.

lake, Birket Nefah or Tefah, two hundred paces in circumference, near which are to be seen the traces of a former canal, probably connected with it. Burckhardt considered it to be the Phiala of Josephus. Schubert, who passed over the same road, only in the opposite direction, appears not to have seen this lakelet or pool: he speaks of descrying, an hour and a half's distance to the north-east, one bearing the name of Abu Ermeil, which seemed to be a kind of gathering-place for the peasants of the neighbourhood.[1] This Schubert thought to be Josephus' Phiala. Both travellers were mistaken, however: the true Phiala lies much farther north of this southern caravan route:[2] it too bears the name Birket er Ram in the mouths of the local peasantry.[3] I shall have occasion to allude on a future page to the description which Thomson, as well as Irby and Mangles, have given of it.

No subsequent traveller has alluded to the Birket Nefah, although the great Tell el Khanzyr, a half-hour south-west of it, has been mentioned by both Burckhardt and Schubert. The ground is described by them as covered with the finest pasturage; the grass was so high as to be almost impassable. Southward, and towards Lake Tiberias, the hilly country from Tell et Taras to Fik or Feik, was intersected by several wadis running down to the lake: the caravan road turned from the hill of Khanzyr westward past some springs to the ruins of the city Nowaran,[4] which is named in the history of the Crusades, and of which there still remain some walls and massive hewn stones. These are found near a fine spring surrounded by walnut and oak trees; from this spot a fine view is gained of the snow-covered Hermon. At Tell Nowaran begins the scarcely perceptible ascent over the basaltic formation,[5] which, however, cannot be said to assume the definite features of a mountain chain. This district, covered with the finest pasturage eastward to the river Meghannye already named, only one hour west of Sasa, the Æenezeh Beduins seized in 1843, and overran it with their flocks and herds, which, according to Wilson's

[1] Von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 265.
[2] See its true position in Kiepert's map.
[3] Seetzen in *Mon. Corresp.* xviii. 1808, p. 343.
[4] Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreutzzüge*, ii. p. 687.
[5] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 318–324.

estimate, comprised thirty-five thousand camels. This multitude, greater than he had ever seen, and which called forth from the Turkish guard at Jacob's Bridge the comparison of them with swarms of grasshoppers covering the land (compare Judg. vi. 5), reminded Wilson of the promise contained in Isa. lx. 6, whose fulfilment seems to lie in a still remote future.

From this plateau, which Schubert estimated to be 2800 feet above the sea, Burckhardt descended[1] to Jacob's Bridge (Jissr Beni Yakub), where the Jordan flows through a narrow bed. The road at first winds gently down, till, at about a quarter of an hour's distance from the bridges, it plunges suddenly into the valley. This account agrees well with that given by Schubert.[2] From Jacob's Bridge, which, according to the latter authority, lies three hundred and seventy-eight feet beneath the level of the Mediterranean, the ascent to the top of the steep cliffs on the east side of the Jordan is extremely difficult, requiring three-quarters of an hour's toilsome climbing to reach the plateau bearing the name of Medan, which lies 875 feet above the sea, and therefore more than 1250 above the surface of the Jordan at Jacob's Bridge.

These very exact and instructive particulars receive new interest from some observations of Dr Schubert, who crossed Jebel Heish on his way to Jolan and Iturea. On the highest peaks of this accessible range, covered everywhere with verdure, he found an abundance of *Salvia Indica*, shedding its delightful perfume all around, and blooming in all its beauty: in the azerole thorn-bushes which flourished between the oaks and the terebinths, the nightingales were singing their songs of spring. In the direction of Jolan, his eye feasted on the green of fair clumps of trees, and on the snow-white summit of Hermon at the north.

On the following morning, the sky being remarkably clear, the massive mountain just named was so distinctly discerned, that it did not seem credible that it could be eight hours' distance away, as it really was. A cold wind swept up from Lake Tiberias, confirming the estimated height of Kanneytra above the sea, 2850 feet.

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 315.

[2] Von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. pp. 261–265.

The caravan road to Sasa offers no special object of interest, with the exception of a frightful barren tract of basalt rock, over which a broad highway has been constructed, probably since Burckhardt's time. This crosses a stone bridge before entering the castellated village of Sasa, supplied with its khan and bazaar. The place, lying among willows, poplars, and walnuts, bears the marks of a comparatively recent earthquake. The last-named tree (*juglans regia*), which is found all the way from the plains of central Europe eastward, through southern Turkey, Asia Minor, and to the district east of the Aral, thrives in this part of Palestine at a height of from 2000 to 3000 feet.

Farther on the road from Sasa to Damascus, along the shore of the Seybarany, in the region where cotton is cultivated, the poplar groves were filled with swarms of bee-eaters (*merops apiaster*), nightingales filled the air with their song, and beetles were creeping over the ground. The wind was cold, the thermometer had fallen as low as 3° R.; and even as late as the 26th of April, the young walnut sprouts were touched with the frost in the gardens of Khan es Sheikh, on the shore of the Seybarany, 2455 feet above the sea.

3. *The intermediate Cross Road, that of the ancient Via Romana, from Damascus to Banias, passing Lake Phiala. Gathered from the accounts of Irby and Mangles, Tipping, and Thomson.*

Had it not been for the discovery in February 1818, by Irby and Mangles,[1] of a third and more direct route still between Banias and Damascus, we should have still remained in doubt regarding the locality of Phiala. Their discovery, supported as it has been by the statements of subsequent travellers, has put the question almost beyond a doubt.

Irby and Mangles left Damascus on the 23d of February, and at the end of their first day's march reached Sasa, a place already alluded to. From this point they took a road to which Burckhardt had made no allusion, lying between the two taken and described by him, and entering Banias on the south side of the old castle.

[1] Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, London, *Letter* iv.; comp. Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 437–440.

The second day's march from Damascus, from Sasa to Banias.—The first part of the journey followed a winding stream, unquestionably the Meghannye, alluded to by Burckhardt, through a fertile plain, watered by several brooks, and dotted with the ruins of a number of mills. The ascent then began over a rough, rocky, and barren tract, displaying in some places the remains of a paved road, which seemed to be a Roman *via militaris*, once extending in a direct line from Damascus to Cæsarea Philippi, and built perhaps by the tetrarch Philip, to whose activity in that part of the country Josephus alludes. West of Banias, Professor Hänel[1] discovered in 1847 traces of an ancient road running to the chief seaports. The loftiest peak of Jebel Sheikh is seen towering in the distance. Snow was on the ground at the time of Irby and Mangles' visit, and in such depth that it was difficult to traverse the country with horses. Yet by and by the road became more passable, the rocky district began to assume a smoother aspect, the stones being piled up in heaps, in order to reclaim the pasture land, on which flocks of goats were seen feeding: the first bushes displayed themselves, increasing in number, size, and grace as the travellers went westward, and descended into a small but fruitful plain, lying exactly at the foot of Jebel es Sheikh. The grave of a Mohammedan saint was seen lying in the basin of a little stream, which seemed to rise in the mountains, and to run from east to west. It was plain, therefore, that the travellers had passed the watershed of Jebel Heish (the southern continuation of es-Sheikh), between the valley of Damascus in the east and Jordan in the west.

Yet it was necessary to ascend from this plateau to the higher land at the south. On the way they soon passed a little village, and were almost immediately afterwards surprised by the discovery close by them, on the left, of a little round lake, very picturesque in situation, about an English mile in circumference, surrounded by wooded cliffs, without any apparent outlet, the water very clear, still, and covered with water birds, recalling at once the Phiala of Josephus, and his conjecture that it is the true source of the Jordan. This, however, it cannot possibly be.

[1] Dr G. Hänel, *Reisetagebuch*, in *Z. d. deutsch. morgen. Ges.* vol. ii. p. 430.

A short distance from the round lake,[1] a brook was crossed, which flows into a stream of some length, along whose bank the travellers proceeded a considerable way, till they reached the old fortress of Banias, a lofty Saracen citadel. Their eyes were soon gladdened by the sight of the noble valley in which the city lies, and of the distant Lake el Huleh. Descending into the vale, beautified with its diversified kinds of shrubs, covered with a thick carpet of grass, and displaying here and there blooming fields of beans and corn, they passed from winter to spring. The climate was entirely unlike that which they had lately experienced on the Damascus plateau, on the heights of Jebel Heish, and the elevated plain of Jolan, and the soft air itself testified that the travellers had reached the deep valley of the Jordan. They reached the city about five in the afternoon; but before entering, they had to follow for some distance a little stream[2] which came from Jebel es Sheikh at the north, and which played and roared along in the wildest manner imaginable.

NOTE.—*Phiala the true source of the Jordan, according to Josephus: Seetzen's Birket el Ram. No Jordan source according to the observations of Thomson.*

Had it not been for the results of the most recent investigation, many doubts would rest upon the locality of Lake Phiala, which has been the subject of so many discussions since the time of Josephus,—Burckhardt assigning it one place, Schubert another, and Seetzen still another; but the latest inquiries have made it certain that it was the round and nameless lake which is mentioned in the narrative of Irby and Mangles. Kiepert[3] has, with his usual exactness, placed it in its true position upon his map of Palestine; but he has been unable to give it any name, saving that which Josephus assigns.

The latter states (*de Bell. Jud.* iii. 10, 7), that the true source of the Jordan was at Lake Phiala. He describes its exact position in relation to Cæsarea Philippi, and its distance

[1] See representation of this in Kiepert's map.

[2] See Burckhardt; also Thomson, *Bib. Sac.* iii. p. 187.

[3] Kiepert's Mem. to his map.

from it. Its name he derives from its circular or wheel-like form. Its water, he asserts, never rises or falls. He also states that Philip, the tetrarch of Trachonitis, threw chaff into the lake, in order to ascertain whether it had a subterranean outlet, and that it appeared at Panium, and proved the existence of such a passage. Thus much for the account of Josephus.

W. M. Thomson,[1] while examining the country in the neighbourhood of the castle of Banias in 1843, learned from his guide's statement, made without any questioning on his side, that a conspicuous group of trees, six or eight miles to the east, indicated the position of a little round lake, about two miles in circumference, which has no outlet, and whose waters never change their height. He assured Mr Thomson that he had often seen it. It was too late in the day to visit the place; but from the spot where he stood, the physical impossibility of any subterranean communication between this little round lake, which his guide called Birket er Ram, and the grotto at Panium was apparent.

His guide went on to point out to him, up the sides of Hermon, and five hours' distance away, a place called Sheba, not very far from the snow masses of the great Jebel es Sheikh, a rock cavern, through which the Banias river runs: he asserted, moreover, that chaff had been thrown in there, and that it had appeared at the Banias spring. There was no impossibility in the way of this story, which probably is some often-repeated tradition of the place. Mr Tipping,[2] a landscape painter, who was taking sketches in the year of Thomson's visit, for the purpose of illustrating an edition of Josephus, visited this place, called Sheba, and found it as described, far up the sides of Jebel Sheikh, and just below the masses of snow which always cover its summit. It was a little basin, only about two hundred and sixty paces in diameter, filled not by springs, but by the melting of snow water. In the summer it is dry. All the circumstances showed him that it could not be the source of the perennial Panium. He also visited the other basin, Birket er Ram, and found its position to coincide exactly with the state-

[1] Thomson, *The Sources of the Jordan*, *l.c. Bib. Sacra*, vol. iii. p. 189.

[2] Smith and Wolcott, communication to the *Bib. Sac.* 1843, pp. 13, 14.

ments of Irby and Mangles, and Seetzen, and with the location assigned it upon Kiepert's map.

A subsequent visit of Thomson to the Birket er Ram, convinced[1] him that it was unmistakeably the Phiala of Josephus, but that it cannot be the source of the Jordan. He took his way thither over a high mountain, and then across a plain covered with lava, traversed by a brook which ran south-westwardly, and flowed into el-Huleh. The distance of the Birket from the old fort of Banias is about three miles, and the direct distance from the Banias spring is about a three hours' walk. The round form of the pool or basin suggested the thought that it had been formed by volcanic agency. The edge is about eighty feet above the water line. The lakelet is about three miles in circuit. It was very difficult to clamber down the steep sides; but having done so, he found the water in many cases full of rank reeds, seemingly shallow, and covered with ducks. There was neither inlet nor outlet to be perceived, and the water-marks seemed to indicate that its height does not vary through the year. The water cannot be drunk, whereas that of the Banias spring is cool, clear, sweet, and delicious. The pond is full of leeches; and fishermen have taken from six to eight thousand during a single day. This creature is unknown, however, at the Banias spring. The amount of water which emerges at the latter place would exhaust the Birket er Ram in a single day.

The tracing of the Jordan source to the little mountain pool of Sheba is just as absurd, since the latter, when swollen by the melting of the snows of Hermon, discharges its waters through a visible outlet, traversing the valley of the Hasbany, and after running a three hours' distance, falls into the gorge of Suraiyib. A subterranean channel running southward is a physical impossibility.

The collections of snow water on all sides of the ice-clad summit of Jebel es Sheikh have given rise to a number of popular stories, of which those cited above regarding the casting of chaff into them, and finding it again at Banias, are but specimens; but this much is certain, that the account of Lake Phiala's being the true source of the Jordan, told by Josephus almost two thousand years ago, and remaining current up to

[1] Thomson, *l.c.* iii. pp. 191, 192.

our own day, is now disproved for all time. Still, notwithstanding the foolishness of many of the popular traditions regarding these water-basins around Hermon, the investigation into their character promises to be very useful for agricultural purposes, and is highly to be recommended.

4. *The west and the south-west side of the Hermon system: the Wadi et Teim and the Nahr Hasbany, as far as Ard el Huleh and Lake el Huleh.*

This mountain region exercises so great an influence over Lake el Huleh (the waters of Merom), that it is necessary for us to enter into a considerable extent of details regarding this valley of the upper Jordan, which derives new interest, if it be connected, as it not improbably may be, with the expedition undertaken by Abraham against Chedorlaomer, after that king had overcome Lot and carried away all his goods. We are told in the sacred narrative (Gen. xiv. 15), that "when Abraham heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them unto Dan; and he divided himself against them, he and his servants by night, and smote them, and pursued them unto Hobah, which is on the left hand of Damascus." Dan lay at the southern entrance of the valley of Hasbeya, through which a mountain road leads in three short days' marches over the chain of Anti-Lebanon (Jebel es Sheikh) to Damascus. The caravan road runs from Banias along the eastern base of Hermon. The expression, "unto Hobah, which is on the left hand of Damascus," affords the greater probability that Abraham followed this mountain path, since the village of Hoba or Choba, which Troilo[1] visited in 1666, lay on the north-east of Damascus,[2] and if one took the eastern road, must have been on the right hand; while in coming down the mountain path of the Anti-Lebanon pass, and following the Barada in a south-easterly direction, it must lie "on the left hand of Damascus," as the Scripture indicates.

This mountain road, which Abraham probably followed on his way to meet Chedorlaomer at Hobah, was ascended in the reverse direction by Seetzen and Buckingham, who left the

[1] Von Troilo, *Reisebeschr.* p. 584.

[2] See this laid down on Berghaus' map.

usual north route to Baalbec, and the west route to Beirut, and turned south-westerly into the deep valley of Rasheya and Hasbeya, which, before Seetzen's journey[1] in January 1806, was almost wholly unknown to Europeans, and which he desired to examine on this very account. His narrative is brief, but its deficiencies have been amply made good by subsequent travellers.

Rasheya and Hasbeya, says Seetzen, lie at the western base of the majestic Hermon, which, under the name of Jebel Sheikh, lifts its snowy head above all the neighbouring mountains. This peak, which in winter time is inaccessible, he found to be composed of the same limestone which formed the whole Anti-Lebanon range. In passing over the chain on his way to Rasheya, he saw in the distance the Mediterranean, and on the west slope of the range he found in the first village of Druses and Christians the ruins of a Roman temple. One Ionic column alone, of the most beautiful construction, remained standing.[2] In Rasheya, where he arrived on the evening of the second day's march, he was detained by rain for several days. He found it situated upon the steep slope of a rocky mountain, the seat of an emir, under whose control were twenty villages, and in whose territory the whole of Hermon lay. On the 23d of January he continued his march southward to Hasbeya, five hours' distance away. In the mountain districts adjacent to both Hasbeya and Rasheya, he found agriculture much neglected.

The range consists principally of limestone, through which, however, there are dykes of a black porous rock, which Seetzen called trap. But the most remarkable geological feature seemed to him to be a pit of asphaltum, and which, though used for centuries, appeared never to have come under the observation of professed mineralogists. It lies on the slope of a limestone mountain, and discloses a number of shafts or pits, which widen as they descend, and from which immense veins of asphaltum run into the mountain. These have been partially excavated, and pillars have been allowed to stand,—a provision

[1] Seetzen, *Letter from Acre*, June 16, 1806, in *Mon. Corresp.* xviii. pp. 340–343.

[2] J. S. Buckingham, *Travels among the Arab Tribes in East Syria, Palestine, Hauran, etc.* p. 393.

all the more necessary, since there has never been any division of the mine into compartments. The roof is an ash-grey slate, eighty feet in thickness. Seetzen let down a string a hundred feet long into the shafts, but could not touch the bottom; he was assured the depth was twice as great. The asphaltum was brought to the surface by a windlass turned by oxen and men. The stratum of asphaltum had never been bored through; it appeared to be of great dimensions. The mineral was used as a wash for grapes, to guard against insects, but the greatest part was sent to Europe. After two days' stay there, Seetzen went on to Banias.

Buckingham pursued the same route, not in the winter, as Seetzen had done, but in the early spring, April 1816.[1] Leaving the paradisaical valley of Damascus, where everything was in the perfection of its bloom, he passed north-westerly over the outer range of Roboch to the Anti-Lebanon. His course was up the gorge-like valley of the Barada, and the whole of the first day was spent in the ascension of the north-westerly range, with its wild crags, as far as Deir el Ekfaire el Feite, where he spent the first night. The view of Damascus, with its four charming rivers, as he saw it from the lowest part of the range, he mentions as indescribably beautiful.

On the second day's march he left the regular north road running to Baalbec, and turned south-westward, traversing the vale formed by the mountain brook Mesenun, passing Demess and Keneisy, in order to enter the long valley running south-westward from Rasheya and Hasbeya. This consumed the day until two o'clock. It required fully three hours to cross the north-eastern extremity of the long Jebel Sheikh, and reach the western descent. From the highest point in the pass he could see the great westerly chain of the Lebanon, often called, on account of the number of Druses inhabiting its sides, the Jebel el Druse; and he could discern the whole Anti-Lebanon, north-east of Damascus, and south-westerly to the extremity of Hermon.

At the highest point of this pass, too, only an hour westward of the source of the Mesenun, and in the depth of the defile, Buckingham discovered a small dark-red patch of the limestone, elsewhere so common, in direct contact with a group

[1] Buckingham, *Travels*, chap. xix. pp. 384–399.

of loose masses of the dark porous rock which is often met with in Hauran, and by the shores of Lake Huleh and the Sea of Tiberias. This volcanic rock seems to have been thrust, dyke-like, through the whole superincumbent mass of limestone, and to have left these traces of the former convulsive powers of nature. It wears down in process of time into a fertile loam of a dark-red colour, which can always be discerned from a distance by an experienced eye. Buckingham remarks[1] that, independently of this basaltic rock found in this gorge-like cleft, the whole appearance of the place was such as to leave no doubt in his mind that the mountain had once been rent by internal volcanic action.

Near the village of Keneisy he found a small round basin, girded with a wall constructed with considerable artistic skill. The pool which had once been there was apparently used for the purpose of irrigating the valley, which begins at this point, and descends in a gentle slope and in a south-south-westerly direction to the farther side of Hasbeya and the plain north of Lake el Huleh. It bears the name Wadi et Teim (on Berghaus' map Etteine). Its upper portion forms the valley of Rasheya, its lower one that of Hasbeya. In it the Jordan begins its course. An Arabian author, el-Chulil, who wrote in the fifteenth century, speaks of the Wadi et Teim as a district belonging to the province of Damascus, having three hundred and sixty villages, and a dense population. This is confirmed by the numerous ruins which are found through the whole neighbourhood. Between the eleventh and the thirteenth century this valley was first settled by the Druses, whose doctrines found their first recognition in the valley of Hasbeya.[2] Prior to the diffusion of the peculiar doctrines of these people, the place was called Teimallah, and Temin in the Jihannuma of Hadji Chalfa.[3]

Three or four hours brought Mr Buckingham down as far as Rasheya. The spring had already begun to exert its influence even there upon the corn-fields, the olive plantations, and

[1] Buckingham, *Travels*, *l.c.* p. 391.

[2] Rosenmüller, *Anal. Arab.* iii. p. 22; and in Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 438.

[3] Von Hammer-Purgstall, in *Journ. Asiat.* 3d ser. T. iv. p. 483, *sur les Druzes.*

the vineyards which adorn the valley. The European cuckoo sounded forth its spring song: the inhabitants of the mountain call it by the name of Jacob's bird,[1] believing that it is proclaiming the praises of a canonized sultan Jacob, whose grave on a neighbouring mountain was visited by Burckhardt. Whether the tradition regarding this holy man has any connection with the patriarch Jacob, is undetermined.

Kefr el Kuk, a city of three thousand Druse and Christian inhabitants, ruled over by an emir, has a round walled water basin, of a kind peculiar to the Anti-Lebanon, and often met by travellers on both sides of the range. Within the basin or pool there stands an upright Doric column, whose use seems to have been to show the depth of the water, and evidently of more ancient date than other antiquities of the place, whose pillars, architraves, and arches display Greek inscriptions indicating the dense population which once inhabited this range.

Rasheya—which is built in a terrace-like form up the sides of the steep and rounding summit, the great castle crowning the height—has a population of from four to five thousand, half Druses, half Greek Christians. It has no mosque, because no Moslems live here, they having been almost entirely driven away from the mountain. Two Greek churches and a Syrian one were entirely filled on the 8th of April—a holy day—and were profusely decorated with images and lamps. Druses here, as in most parts of the mountains, live on terms of amity with the Greek Christians, and discharge their own mysterious rites and observances; their girls and women are distinguished by the lofty horn (the tandur), which they wear on their heads. Above the castle of Rasheya, itself in a lofty position, towers towards the south the far higher snow-covered summit of Jebel Sheikh, whose ice extended even in April within fifteen minutes' walk of the village. This elevated situation ensures a great degree of health to the people who reside there, and who are distinguished for their fresh complexions, their coral lips, and the piercing black eyes of their women and children. The mountains close by give refuge to many wild beasts—such as wolves and leopards—just as they did in the days when Solomon's Song was written (iv. 8): "Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse, with me from Lebanon: look from the

[1] Buckingham, *Trav. l.c.* p. 392; Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 32.

top of Amana,[1] from the top of Shenir and Hermon, from the lions' dens, from the mountains of the leopards." This lofty summit displays everywhere a high grade, except on the south side, where its descent towards Banias is more gentle; along its west side there runs a low parallel chain, called the Jebel Arbel, which forms the western wall of the long valley of Rasheya and Hasbeya. It is, however, a low range; and one who stands upon the loftiest point in Rasheya can see completely over it to the third parallel chain of the Lebanon. The latter chain, which in the beginning of April was entirely covered with snow, Buckingham found to be called by many of the people of that vicinity Jebel ed Druse, although the ancient name of Libnan or Lebanon is heard even yet in the mouths of the common people. Its white aspect completely corresponds to the Arabic word meaning Snow Mountains, Jebel et Teltsh, as it is often called. The valley between the Jebel Arbel on the east, and the Lebanon range on the west, is that which is now known as el-Bekaa[2] (more strictly el-Bohah); it is the Cœle-Syria of Strabo, and La Boquea of William of Tyre. In it are found the renowned ruins of Baalbec. In a more general sense, this valley extends entirely across from the Lebanon to the Anti-Lebanon; the intermediate chain is of very little relative importance—so little, indeed, that the nomenclature of the peasantry ignores it, for they call the Lebanon the West Mountain, and the Anti-Lebanon the East Mountain.[3]

On the way from Rasheya to Hasbeya, which Seetzen traversed in five hours, but of which he makes almost no mention, Buckingham passed a number of villages inhabited by both Druses and Christians. On the way there appeared a wild mountain stream, which rises above the village of Kanaby,[4] and which seems to be lost in the bottom of the valley. In the bed of this little stream there appeared that same black porous stone which is found in Hauran and around Lake Tiberias: at first only a wedge-shaped mass, of little importance, but farther on found in greater abundance. Three hours beyond the place where Buckingham discovered the basaltic rock, he came to the source of the Nahr Hasbany, an arm of the Jordan; close by,

[1] Amana, a peak of this range. See Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterth.* i. p. 234.
[2] Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterth.* i. p. 236.
[3] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 4.
[4] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 32.

on an elevation just eastward, stands the city of Hasbeya. Professor Hänel, who passed over this road in 1847, found the Druse villages upon it in better condition than those of the Turks and Arabs; the houses were higher, and supplied with windows.[1]

The Jordan, according to Buckingham,[2] rises at the lowest part of this valley, presenting itself at the very source as a great basin of the clearest water, from which it makes its escape by overleaping a dam, and produces a charming cascade. A little distance below, it is spanned by its first bridge.

These general accounts have been fully confirmed by the more detailed narratives of Burckhardt and Thomson, whose courses of travel led them over a considerable portion of the route taken by their predecessors. Burckhardt passed,[3] in October 1810, from the ruins of Baalbec southward through the valley of Bekaa. He passed the first night at a little Druse village on the narrow crest of Jebel Arbel, said by Eli Smith to be not more than a quarter of an hour's walk across. The next day he entered the valley of Hasbeya. It lies about five hundred feet higher than that of el-Bekaa, through which the Litany pursues its westward course. The spring which Buckingham had already described lies about a half-hour's distance from the village of Hasbeya. Burckhardt did not visit it, but Thomson in 1843[4] made it the object of special investigation. The water bubbles up through the soft slimy bottom of a pool[5] about eight or ten rods in circumference; and as it escapes it is checked at once by a stone dam, forming the cascade which Buckingham observed in the winter time, but which is not to be seen in the early autumn. The water is abundant, however; and below the dam there is a strong clear stream, in which fish are plentifully found. The first five miles of its course is through a narrow but very beautiful and highly-cultivated valley, densely shaded by willows, sycamores, and terebinths.

[1] Prof. Hänel, *Reisetagebuch*, *i.a.l.* p. 434.

[2] Buckingham, *Travels*, *l.c.* p. 397.

[3] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 32.

[4] Eli Smith, in *Miss. Herald*, vol. xli. 1845, p. 17; W. M. Thomson, *The Sources of the Jordan*, *l.c. Bib. Sacra*, vol. iii. p. 185.

[5] Compte de Berton, *Mem. sur la depression, etc.*, in *Bulletin de la Soc. Geogr. de Paris*, T. xii. p. 139.

The stream then passes into a deep cleft of basaltic rock, whence it emerges into a great plain of volcanic origin, and then sinks by a series of very gradual transitions into the morasses which surround Lake Huleh. Entering the plain just mentioned, it turns its direction a little westward, and runs about ten miles, and almost the same distance through the swamp land, entering Lake Huleh not far from its north-west corner. During its course hither it receives a large number of tributaries—the Banias branch and Tel el Kadi on the east, and the Mellahah, the Derakit, and numberless little brooks on the west, by which its volume of water is largely increased. The entire distance from the source to the lake is about twenty-five miles.

Although in the higher portion of Wadi et Teim there is no permanent stream, and, as Thomson says, the channel which is seen there is dry for the greater part of the year, yet in the rainy season there rushes down the valley a great mass of melted snow water,[1] which makes the bridge at the source of the Hasbany indispensable.

Burckhardt describes Hasbeya as having seven hundred houses, half of them inhabited by Druses, the other half by Christians, mainly Greeks and Maronites: the number of Turks and Nasairites he describes as very small. The chief production of the place is olive oil; the most prominent occupation of the people the weaving of a coarse kind of cotton cloth. The leading man in the village was a Druse emir, dependent on the Pasha of Damascus, and having twenty-one villages under his jurisdiction, which included even Banias. At the time of Thomson's visit[2] in 1843, the emirate had passed into the hands of a Moslem branch of the house of Shehab. I shall have occasion subsequently to speak of the government and the Christian population; I will here merely subjoin a few words on the condition of the place and its Jewish inhabitants at the time of Wilson's visit, April 1843. According to his account, the town lies upon an eminence eight or nine hundred feet high. The population he estimated at five thousand, of whom one thousand were Druses, a hundred were Mohammedans, and four thousand Christians. The Jews form only a small colony of about twenty houses and a hundred souls.

[1] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 189.

[2] *Missionary Herald*, vol. xl. xli. xlii.

They all belong to the Sephardim, whose ancestors immigrated from Austria. There are only two or three permanent traders among them; the other vendors of goods are a kind of pedlars, whose main business it is to lend money to the agriculturists, taking their pay out of the returns of the harvest. They have a synagogue, but no reading-room, as in Tiberias or Safed; they are by no means a people addicted to study; few of them understand Hebrew, and only eight or ten can write. Their hakim, Abraham den David, was at once butcher, teacher, reader in the synagogue, and the leading military man. Their taxes, which were formerly high—four hundred and fifty piastres—had, at the time of Wilson's visit, been raised to three thousand two hundred piastres. The demand of the Christians in Hasbeya for the Arabic New Testament and Protestant writings was very great, and indicated a quickened state of religious life. The Greek priests were exceedingly incensed against the missionary, Wilson, and endeavoured to persuade their people, though without great success, to return the books. A Druse of prepossessing dress gave the assurance, that if the English would guarantee protection to the Protestants, as the French had done to the Catholics, and the Russians to the Greeks, a hundred families would at once embrace Protestantism. He expressed his wish that the Druses might enjoy Protestant schools, nor was he at all reticent regarding his own religious opinions. The streets of Hasbeya run down the sides of the mountain, where there are no houses; all the slopes are covered with olive and mulberry trees. The manufacture of silk, of cotton cloth, and olive oil, formed the chief occupation of the inhabitants. Yet every man has his little garden or his terraces on the hill-side; and the words of Micah (iv. 4) seem to find exact fulfilment there, for each house is overshadowed by its own vine and fig-tree. At the time of Wilson's visit the summit of Hermon was still covered with snow, and the corn was not yet in the ear. The custom of cooling the drinking-water with snow from the mountain exists unchanged from the time of Solomon (Prov. xxv. 13). Here Wilson saw for the first time the tantur or horn used as an ornament for the head. It is at present only worn by the women, especially the married ones, but was formerly used by men as well (see Job xvi. 15; Jer. xlviii. 25; Ps. cxii. 9, cxxxii. 17, and cxlviii. 14). An

antique gem also, which Wilson procured in Damascus, displayed the tantur now worn by the Druse women upon a man's head.

Burckhardt[1] describes the mineralogical character of Hasbeya and its vicinity as interesting; in the wadi east of the town there is found a metallic substance, which he held to be a natural quicksilver amalgam. Cinnabar was said to be found also; the soil is rich in iron; and at a short distance to the east he found massive deposits of bitumen, which the peasantry sold to merchants from Damascus, Aleppo, and Beirut. Thomson, who visited the asphaltum pits, considered[2] the amount of bitumen inexhaustible, and thought that, if managed with care, they would become very profitable.

The road leads in a direct course from Hasbeya over the very narrow ridge which separates its valley from that of the Litany. It passes the village of Kaukaba, and emerges at the hamlet of Barghaz, which stands close by the stream, as it dashes and foams through its gorge-like bed, spanned by an old Roman bridge. Perhaps it were more strictly true to say that below this bridge begins that cleft, impassable by the steps of man, and which the stream has cleft through the rocks of Lebanon, whose lofty peaks rise abruptly on the west. A half-hour below Kaukaba,[3] and on the Hasbany, stands the khan of Hasbeya, a very large and old caravanserai of regular construction, eighty paces square, with entrances on the east and west sides, the latter of which was so overladen with inscriptions, that even an experienced eye could scarcely make them out. The khan, as well as the remains of a once very elegant mosque close by, give evidence of the great depreciation of art in Syria in the present compared with former days. This khan yields a most unremunerative rent. The market on Thursday is attended by peasants from the whole Hasbeya district, el-Huleh, Belad-Beshara, Belat-Shukif on the Litany, Medj-Ayun, and Jezzin. A kind of pottery, largely manufactured in the neighbourhood, is offered for sale; also the cotton and silk stuffs of Hasbeya, horses, mules, camels, donkeys, fine sheep, goats, oil,

[1] Burckhardt, *Travels*, p. 33.

[2] Thomson, *l.c.* iii. p. 186; comp. Compte de Bertou's *Mem. l.c. Bulletin*, xii. p. 139; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible, etc.*, vol. ii. p. 191.

[3] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible, l.c.* ii. p. 192.

butter, cheese, and other articles. These are displayed in slight booths or on the ground. The whole spectacle, taken in connection with the surrounding landscape, is a very romantic one.

Thomson was especially surprised to see some fifty millstones offered for sale, made from the porous black stone which is used for that purpose in Hauran, and which seems to be the chief material which makes up the structure of the part of the mountain where the market is held. Thomson judged its appearance to indicate that the mountain had a volcanic origin. Passing over the stone bridge near by, he rode along the banks of the stream, following its downward course, and soon came to a fine growth of wood, which stood forth in strong contrast with the naked appearance of the mountain crags on every side. South of this he entered an extensive olive grove, through which the Hasbany continued its dashing course for the distance of an hour and a half; but after passing out of this grove, he no longer heard the music of its waters, for it had passed then into the plain, and changed its course.

Buckingham traversed the length of the Hasbeya valley, yet he did not pursue the road which leads along the bottom of it, but chose rather that which runs along the top of the low ridge[1] on the west. After a good day's march from Rasheya, he arrived at sunset at a round, isolated, cone-shaped mountain, very like Tabor in its form, and filling up somewhat the Hasbeya valley. Upon it stands the city Hibl el Hawa, smaller than Rasheya, and provided with a good khan, from whose gate the view extends down the deep and broad Jordan valley as far as Lake Huleh. At Ḥibl, the habitations of the Druse mountaineers cease, and a new population succeeds. Burckhardt, in his course down the valley, followed the western slope of Hermon. After the first two hours he arrived[2] at Hereibe, a place that lies high above the river, and which is surrounded by olive vineyards, the fruit of which forms an important article of food among the mountaineers. West of the village stand the ruins of a fallen temple, twenty paces long, thirteen broad, with a vestibule and two columns still standing upright. The inner apartments of the temple are not materially injured; it still exhibits a number of arched rooms,

[1] Buckingham, *Trav. l.c.* pp. 398–400.

[2] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 34.

and the relics of a staircase which formerly led to the roof, now fallen in. From this ruin Burckhardt came in an hour to the spring Ain Ferchan, and then, after ascending a mountain, three-quarters of an hour brought him to Rasheyat el Fuchar, a village of a hundred houses. The most of these belong to the Turks, the rest are inhabited by Greek Christians. The village affords a magnificent view of the Ard el Huleh, *i.e.* the circular plain of that name three or four hours away. In the distance Lake Huleh can also be seen. This village is remarkable as the place where the pottery ware, so much valued in the neighbourhood for its graceful forms and skilful painting, is manufactured. It finds a market not only in Hasbeya, but is carried as far as Jolan and Hauran; almost every house in the village is a small pottery.[1]

Thomson,[2] after leaving the long valley Wadi et Teim, and passing through the great olive grove at the south end, traversed the plain that lies there in forty-five minutes. He found it covered everywhere with lava, and ending in a steep slope, which led to a second plain much larger than the first, and exhibiting the same traces of volcanic activity. This one he found to slope gently to the marshes around Lake Huleh. His course led him eastward to Banias, which he reached in two hours and a half.

Scattered over this barren plain, Thomson saw a few stunted oak trees, which, instead of beautifying the prospect, only made it more painfully desolate. Buckingham's account[3] confirms that of Thomson in this regard. He too, in his descent from the fertile valley, found on the lava-covered plain not a single olive tree, not a grape vine, and not a corn-field. No houses were visible; and only a few tents served as the habitations of man. The only people visible were a few nomadic adventurers called Turkomans, who in the spring force their way in from Syria, and, partaking of the character of both Turks and Arabs, make use of both languages. On account of their predatory habits, however, they are considered a more abandoned race than even the wild Beduins. Crossing

[1] See also Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 439; and Major Robe, in *Bib. Sacra*, 1843, pp. 14, 15.

[2] Thomson, *l.c.* iii. p. 187.

[3] Buckingham, *Trav. l.c.* p. 400.

the Hasbany, he found it at this season, the beginning, very broad and deep. Eastward he could see the high castle of Banias.

Approaching this city, vegetation begins immediately to assume new vigour and beauty; the hundred brooks that distribute their waters through its neighbourhood, carry fertility everywhere, and make the place a miniature Eden. Josephus says of it, that it affords a profusion of all natural gifts; Seetzen[1] alludes to the uncommon richness of its charms; and Burckhardt calls it rightly classic ground; and surely it is so, for hither came Jesus Christ with His disciples, and taught in the neighbourhood, and loved to meet the people who assembled at the markets of Cæsarea Philippi: here He loved to preach the gospel, and to speak to the multitudes of Himself as the Son of the living God (Matt. xvi. 16; Mark viii. 27). The parable of the sower is invested with new significance when read in the fruitful corn-fields which surround Banias. Wilson discovered[2] in the wheat-fields a great number of places destitute of grass, and displaying a productive growth of a kind of tares, called by the Arabs *Zawan*. Before sowing, the seed of this is carefully separated from the grain, lest it grow up and choke the harvest. This is eminently the *Zizanion* or *Lolium* of Matt. xiii. 25, which the enemy sowed among the wheat in the night-time while the master lay and slept. It bears the same name even to-day.

5. *The source of the Jordan at Banias; the city of Banias; the Castle of Subeibeh, and the ruins of Hazuri Hazor.*

Seetzen, the first European traveller who visited Banias since the times of Abulfeda and Brocardus, gave a very brief account of his stay there; yet all that he did narrate has been fully confirmed[3] by subsequent explorers. The small place; the abundant spring with its attractive rock grotto; the picturesque wall with its Greek inscriptions, dedicating the place to Pan and the nymphs of the fountain; the charming environs, which Seetzen thought[4] the most interesting in all Palestine,—a

[1] Seetzen, *Mon. Correspond.* xviii. p. 343.
[2] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 173.
[3] Seetzen, in *Mon. Corresp.* xviii. pp. 343, 344.
[4] Seetzen, p. 348; Wilson, *Lands, etc.*, vol. ii. p. 174.

judgment in which Wilson coincides; the abundance of game of all kinds for the hunter, wild boars, foxes, jackals, gazelles, deer, hares, wolves, hyenas, bears, and panthers,—all of this is as Seetzen years ago asserted it to be. He was the first to ascribe the true origin of the Jordan to the spring of Banias, as a tribute to its beauty; yet he did not refuse to recognise the Hasbany lying farther west as a longer arm of the river than the Banias tributary; and it is unquestionable, that he laid very little stress on the probability of a third and intermediate stream's leading to the head waters, the Tell el Kadi, in consequence of his want of acquaintance with it.

Burckhardt, who regrets the short stay which he was compelled[1] by the want of money to make at that place, has yet given a very exact account of it, accompanied with a drawing of the grotto, and with copies of the inscriptions which he observed there.

Banias, now a village of about one hundred and fifty houses[2] (at Burckhardt's time, 1810, there were only sixty), lies at the foot of Jebel Sheikh, and in a corner of the plain of Banias. Its population is mostly of Turks and Arabs, yet there is an intermingling of Greeks and Druses. The declivity of the mountain is here particularly fruitful, as well as the plain which lies before it, and both enjoy the uncommon advantage of having a dense growth of trees. The district which is most remarkable for its fertility extends half an hour's distance west of the town, and is thickly dotted with ruins, stone walls, pillars, capitals, and pedestals. This place is regarded by Wilson as unquestionably a part of the old city of Cæsarea Philippi.

On the north-eastern side of the present village, the Banias river emerges from its source. That in ancient times it received honours as the fountain-head of the Jordan, is shown by the monuments which stand near it. Above the spring there may still be seen an upright limestone wall,[3] in which several niches of larger or smaller size have been skilfully excavated, and ornamented with volutes. The most of these niches are

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* pp. 37-43.

[2] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 176.

[3] Gesenius' ed. of Burckhardt, i. pp. 494–497, Note; Boeckh and Franz, *Corpus Inscr. Græcar.* vol. iii. Fasc. i. fol. 244, Nos. 4537–4539.

now filled with rubbish. The largest one, which is six feet high, and the same in length and width, stands over a spacious cavern, from which the river flows; still higher is a second niche decorated with pilasters. At the distance of twenty paces, and at the foot of the same rock, a couple of other niches have been hollowed out: every one bears its own Greek inscription. In one of them, which is decorated with a profusion of ornaments, a portion of a pedestal for a statue can be seen. The almost illegible inscriptions merely indicate that the place was sacred to Pan, whence its name Panion, or Paneion in Josephus, and the later name Panias. They also tell us that a priest of Pan (probably officiating here in a temple dedicated by Herod the Great to Augustus) caused the inscriptions to be engraved. Philip the tetrarch of Trachonitis, to whom at a later period this province was assigned by the Romans, built the city, and gave it the name of Cæsarea Panias: it was also called Cæsarea Philippi, to discriminate it from the Cæsarea Palestina on the sea-coast, and is so designated in Mark viii. 27. Still later it was enlarged by Agrippa, and in flattery to the Emperor Nero was called Neronias. There is not known to have been any older primitive name of the place;[1] and here, differently from almost all the localities of Palestine, the Greek name has not been supplanted by an Arabic corruption[2] of the old name, but has remained only slightly changed in form. The Panion of Josephus appears in the Banias or Banjas of our day, and in the Belinas of Benjamin of Tudela and the Crusaders. Reland has indeed started the conjecture that there is no such connection; that the form of the present word deceives, and that it really dates to the days of the Phœnician supremacy. An inscription which escaped the eye of Burckhardt is found on the wall about five feet above the most eastern niche, and confirms the statement of Josephus, that Agrippa decorated Panias with royal bounty. It was copied by both Thomson[3] and Krafft; it fills sixteen lines, but it has not been published.

Around the spring there is a large number of hewn stones. The stream runs along the north side of the village, where are still to be seen a well-built bridge and some ruins of the ancient

[1] Gesenius' ed. of Burckhardt, Note to i. p. 483.
[2] Abulfedæ *Tab. Syr.* in Koehler, p. 96.
[3] Thomson, in *Bib. Sacra*, iii. p. 194.

city, the larger part of which appears to have been on the farther side of the river, where ruins are found extending back a quarter of an hour's walk. These ruins are not found in any perfect condition; there are no whole walls, only scattered fragments and detached stones, among which one unbroken pillar was visible. In the village Burckhardt saw upon the left a light-grey granite pillar, of about one and a half feet in diameter.

The incompleteness of the narratives given by earlier travellers has been completely removed by the full accounts of subsequent explorers. Even Burckhardt failed to describe with any fulness of detail the cavern from which the Banias spring emerges, but Thomson[1] has entirely filled the *hiatus* in our knowledge. The account given by Josephus of this great fountain is interesting; but its condition is so much changed since he wrote, that his description no longer remains true. He tells us that when Herod the Great had accompanied Cæsar (Augustus) to the sea on his way home, he built in his honour a splendid temple of pure white stone. This he erected near Panium, a beautiful grotto, where flow the head waters of the Jordan. The place which was afterwards to be made celebrated by this beautiful temple was of note even before, in consequence of this rare natural curiosity.

The perpendicular wall, from forty to fifty feet in height, and running parallel with the ancient walls of the place, and standing only a few rods from it, displays not far from its middle part a high irregularly-shaped cavern, which at the present time, moreover, only penetrates the mountain a few feet. This place, according to Josephus, was the source of the Jordan. Professor Hänel,[2] who visited the place in 1847, reports that the wall has been very much shattered by an earthquake, whose results are to be seen in the thickly scattered fragments strewn around. It is very probable, however, that the pieces of rock so abundant there, are rather to be ascribed to the ruins of the demolished temple of Herod, of which there is nothing left standing. Other architectural objects which

[1] Thomson, *l.c. Bib. Sacra*, iii. pp. 187-189; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 176.

[2] Dr G. Hänel, *Reisetagebuch*, in *Zeitsch. d. deutsch. morgenland Gesell.* vol. ii. p. 43.

once served to adorn the place, appear now to block up the entrance to the cavern, so that it could only be possible to discover the true spring by removing the great mass of rubbish accumulated there. They are probably now sustained by an arch; for Thomson conjectured that so many pieces of rock could only have been borne up by the strong support of a vault. If this were so, we should be able to understand the account which Josephus gives of the place, and perhaps to recognise its truth. The inscriptions and sculptured volutes found above have stood the weather well, and display traces of remarkable skill. Of the altar which Benjamin of Tudela[1] (writing in 1165) supposed to be the pediment on which stood Micah's idol, mentioned in Judg. xviii. 17, and which he located before the Jordan grotto of Banias, there is, of course, not a trace to be found.

Thomson gives a more explicit account of the situation of the city than his predecessors. Wilson[2] is still more full. Banias lies in the midst of hills and mountains; the surface of Lake Huleh cannot be seen from it, it being shut off from sight by intervening eminences. On these, Wilson,[3] as he looked southward, saw a place that was called Mazarah; the hills themselves he found to bear the name Jebel Jura, or Jeidur, in the latter one of which he thought he discovered traces of the name Ituræa, which was given in ancient times to that region. Ain Fit lies still farther south, near the broad district of Gaulon, Golan, Gaulonitis, or Jolan, which embraces the whole country south-east of Banias, and east of Lake Huleh. Like Ituræa, it unquestionably owes its local name to the ancient and hitherto undiscovered city of Golan in Bashan,—a site which, with three others, was selected by Moses as places of refuge for those persons of the tribe of Manasseh who accidentally committed manslaughter. Subsequently the place was given to the children of Gershom (Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8, xxi. 27; 1 Chron. vi. 71). The little plateau on which the city of Banias stands is a hundred feet higher than the neighbouring plain of the same name. The part of the town which lay within the ancient walls lay directly south of the

[1] Benjamin von Tudela, *Itinerar.* ed. Asher, 1840, i. p. 82.
[2] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 175, 322.
[3] *Ibid. l.c.* pp. 173, 318.

great spring, whose stream forms a deep bed along the north-western walls. A part of the water was formerly carried through a ditch or fosse, which protected the eastern wall, and which ran into the deep cleft formed by the mountain stream Wadi el Kid. Along the bank of the latter the southern wall was erected. The whole place was therefore surrounded by water. The walls were very strong, and protected, as the ruins now show, by eight towers: certainly a very formidable position; an irregular triangle or trapezium, broadest at the east, —the whole so small as to be walked round in twenty minutes, and well justifying the remark of Irby and Mangles,[1] that Cæsarea Philippi could not have been a city of great extent.

It is only in the north-eastern portion of the tract once covered by the ancient city, that the few wretched huts stand which form the present town. It lies, according to De Bertou's[2] measurements, about two hundred and fifty-two feet higher than the Jordan spring at Hasbeya. The western part of the territory, which was included within walls, is now overgrown with a rank profusion of bushes and weeds, among which stand three mills, whose wheels are moved by the stream from the great spring. There is a fourth one on the southern stream, that of Wadi el Kid.

The suburbs of the place, as they may be called, are far more extensive than the town itself; for the whole plain is thickly scattered with the fragments of pillars, capitals, and walls, all displaying the ancient splendour of Cæsarea Philippi. Under a settled government, this place, now so pitiably sunk, would assume new importance, for its natural advantages are remarkably great. The soil of the neighbourhood is of extraordinary fertility, and yields a more ample harvest than that of any other part of Palestine. There is a noble terebinth tree[3] growing in the middle of the village, a thick carpet of grass covers the ground, and extensive rice-fields greet the eye with their fresh green colour; the neighbourhood abounds in boars, gazelles, and other varieties of game; and partridges, ducks, and snipes[4] are met in great profusion.

[1] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* p. 289.
[2] C. de Bertou, *Mem. l.c. Bullet.* xii. *Table des hauteurs.*
[3] Burckhardt, Gesenius' ed. i. p. 91.
[4] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* p. 289.

Burckhardt is the only one who has pushed[1] out from Banias in a north-north-westerly direction for any distance. His excursion extended about five miles, and on the way he discovered traces of an ancient paved road. He discovered the ruins of a city, to which he gave the name of Bostra. It stood on a bold height, which Seetzen had in vain attempted to ascend. The stones of which this old city was built were in many cases of remarkable size, and were hewn. There were the remains of some fountains, some shattered pillars, but nothing else which seemed particularly noteworthy. Although Burckhardt gave the name Bostra to the place, yet no city of this name seems to have been anciently there: Gesenius held it to be Bathyra, which Herod built as a stronghold against the predatory attacks of the people of Trachonitis. The whole region in the vicinity of this collection of ruins Burckhardt found admirably adapted for building purposes. Behind this place there rises an eminence of some pretensions, called the Jebel Merura Jubba.[2]

Wilson,[3] on passing from Banias to Hasbeya, discovered a third way of communication between the two, which had been taken by Burckhardt; one of special interest, in consequence of its traversing the lowest part of the defile through which the Hasbany runs. His road ran north-westward from Banias for about five miles, along the southerly base of Jebel Sheikh, then turned northward, and five miles farther on crossed the stream Nahr es Seraiyib, a branch of the Hasbany. Not far from that point is the narrow ravine through which the Hasbany pours. The basalt rocks which I have mentioned as found elsewhere here appear again, but they differ from those found in the neighbourhood of Lake Tiberias in the large proportion of iron which they contain. Farther up in the valley green sandstone is found, and the whole geological structure of the soil changes. The basaltic pass or ravine is surrounded by a very hilly country as far up as Hasbeya. All the wadis are full of olive and mulberry plantations, vineyards, and the finest corn-fields. In fact, the whole art of agriculture has here reached a stage far in advance of that found in every other place between Beersheba and Dan.

[1] Burckhardt, Gesenius' ed. i. p. 92. See Thomson, p. 196.

[2] See Berghaus' map. [3] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 180-182.

The restless Burckhardt[1] made another excursion to the old Saracen citadel of Banias, which no European had visited before. It lies directly east of the great spring, and is three miles away. It crowns a hill fifteen hundred feet above the village of Banias, and affords a most extensive and charming prospect, extending beyond the barren Jebel Heish, Lake Huleh, and Jebel Safed. This castle, whose form is that of an irregular quadrangle, covers the whole of the extensive rocky and completely isolated spur of Jebel Sheikh, on which it stands. It is guarded on all sides by inaccessible gorges, and only on the north-east does a single narrow crag connect the hill with the main body of the range. Even here, too, there is a sudden descent of from two hundred to three hundred feet from the rock-crowned citadel to the narrow pass just alluded to. This north-eastern side, the only one that was approachable, was defended by walls, round towers, and bastions of extraordinary strength. The south side of the citadel is guarded by six towers, alternately round and square, through only one of which was the ascent practicable from Wadi el Kid. The walls on the south-west, west, and north-west, lead along the brink of a very steep precipice. Within the citadel the primitive rock has been left standing higher than even the walls themselves ascend; and in this rock, cisterns, corn-chambers, storehouses, and arched rooms have been hewn. At the west end of the castle there is a staircase cut in the rock, but now so broken that Thomson was unable to descend to ascertain the truth of the story that it leads to a subterranean passage connecting with the Banias spring. It took Burckhardt twenty-five minutes to walk round this citadel; Thomson estimates it to be about an English mile in circuit. He was astonished at the enormous magnitude of the fortress, and asserts that the style of the architecture was in many places exceedingly fine. A round tower, built with bevel stones, appeared to him to date back to a period long antecedent to that of the middle ages,—a supposition materially strengthened by the presence of many Saracen inscriptions. One of these, bearing the date of the latest Crusades, indicates only the repairs which have been effected. This castle of Banias has been called, since the time of the Crusades,[2]

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 37.

[2] Wilken, *Gesch. d. Kreutzzüge*, ii. p. 569.

Subeibeh,—a name which can hardly be traced to that of one of the Arab tribes, the Subeib, which live gipsy-like in the neighbourhood. These are only recent immigrants, and derive their name rather from the citadel than the reverse. This desolate old castle, whose size, strength, and position must have once given it great importance, now serves only the fellah herdsmen of the Jebel Heish, giving them a place of refuge in the winter, in the night-time, and in severe storms.

Only a little distance from this castle Thomson learned of the existence of a very old ruin, called Sheikh Othman el Hazur,[1]—the same place where Burckhardt passed the Ain el Hazuri,[2] and heard of the ruins of an old city of the same name. These remain as yet unvisited, but we do not doubt that they would prove to be the relics of the ancient capital of Jabin king of Hazor, and before the time of Joshua the chief city of the whole northern basin of the Jordan (see Josh. xi. 1–20). Its position has hitherto been completely unknown, since neither Burckhardt nor Thomson thought of looking for Jabin's capital in that place. The hypothesis was formerly universal, that Hazor was on the west side of Lake Huleh.

I need not recapitulate the details which Robinson[3] has given regarding the history of Banias, its receiving the name Neronias in honour of the Emperor Nero, the fearful contest which Vespasian and Titus compelled to take place between Jews and wild beasts in the amphitheatre, its becoming a bishopric in the fourth century, its later fortunes at the time of the Crusades, and its entire desertion by the Christians in 1253.

6. *The Jordan Spring of Tell el Kadi, the minor Jordan of Josephus; the situation of Dan (Daphne); and of Paneas.*

The accounts of this spring, and the stream which flows from it, are either wrongly given in the accounts of the early travellers of this century, or are so incorrect that many misapprehensions have been raised regarding it; and these have not been wholly dispelled till the publication of the works of Thomson and Wilson. Seetzen considered[4] this spring as of

[1] Thomson, *l.c.* p. 194.
[2] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 44.
[3] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 447 et seq.
[4] Seetzen, in *Mon. Corresp.* xviii. p. 344.

no importance; and Burckhardt's[1] visit was so hasty, or his opportunities of seeing it made so unfavourable by reason of the rainy weather which he experienced, that his account is erroneous, to the degree of putting it on the north-east instead of the north-west of Banias. This mistake naturally misled Berghaus in his map, and led to a displacement of all the localities in the neighbourhood. The results of Robinson's[2] investigations permitted Kiepert to rectify this error; but De Bertou[3] examined the whole subject with great care, and ascertained that Tell el Kadi is due west from Banias.

To Buckingham[4] we are indebted for the first detailed description of this important spring. Riding west from Banias about an English mile (Thomson found it to be three miles), he reached a slight eminence, similar in appearance to an artificial mound. Its name was Tell el Kadi. From its centre there emerged five or six springs, the approach to which was much impeded by a thicket of bushes. The water from these different sources he found to flow into a basin a hundred paces in diameter, its bottom showing that new springs were feeding it from below. The outlet was a stream which runs southward, passing the grave of a certain Sidi Yuda Ibu Jakub, soon uniting with the Banias stream, and after running from twelve to fifteen miles, entering Lake Huleh. Riding for an hour westward from Tell el Kadi, Buckingham arrived at the Hasbany bridge, under whose three arches the river shot with a strong and rapid current.

Thomson gives[5] somewhat more full details regarding this source of the Jordan. The hill or mound rises forty or fifty feet above the plain, is of an oval shape, and is wholly covered with oaks and other kinds of trees. It is evidently the result of volcanic action, and the place where the water springs up was the former crater of the extinct volcano. The south-west side of this crater has been worn away by the power of the

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 42.

[2] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 437.

[3] C. de Bertou, *Mem. l.c. Bullet.* T. xii. p. 142.

[4] Buckingham, *Trav.* p. 405. See also Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 115; Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 437 et sq.; Berghaus, *Mem. to Map of Syria*; and Tristram's *Land of Israel*, p. 580.

[5] Thomson, *Tell el Kadi*, in *Bib. Sacra*, vol. iii. pp. 196-198. See also von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 120.

water issuing from the springs,—a clear, crystal stream several times as broad as that of Banias (according to Wilson, ten paces wide, two feet deep, and with an uncommonly strong current). The whole body of water does not run through this one channel, but that which issues from the highest part of the former crater passes down the south side of the hill, giving motion in its course to a number of grist mills, which, overshadowed as they are by noble oaks, seem almost buried in the rank vegetation. The two streams, which form a kind of island, unite below the mills, forming a little river of from forty to fifty feet in breadth, which even in September, the driest time of the year, rushes vehemently down towards Lake Huleh.

C. de Bertou, who confirms this account in all essential particulars, found the absolute height of the springs to be three hundred and twenty-two Paris feet[1] above the level of the sea, therefore two hundred and thirty-four feet lower than the source of the Hasbany, and four hundred and fifty feet lower than the Banias spring. Von Wildenbruch's[2] measurements, however, made in 1845, show the height of Tell el Kadi above the sea to be considerably greater.

The miller of the place, whom Thomson knew, pointed out in a south-westerly direction, and at a distance of three miles, a clump of trees, where, he asserted, the Tell el Kadi stream joins that from Banias. The place lies in the marsh land, a little distance north of a huge mound, whose appearance was similar to that of Tell el Kadi, and which Thomson supposed to be the remains of a second extinct volcano. The miller had often been there; and according to his account, the united stream flows for some distance through the marsh land, and then enters the Hasbany.

South-west of the Tell el Kadi are to be seen several deserted Arab huts of recent construction; and the locality seems to be so peculiarly exposed to miasmatic vapours from the marshes, that many have deemed it impossible for permanent settlements to be made there; and Thomson was of the opinion that this was a conclusive reason that the celebrated city of

[1] C. de Bertou, *l.c. Bull.* xii. p. 143.

[2] Von Wildenbruch, in *Berlin Monatsber. der geograph. Gesell.*, new series, vol. iii. plate iii. p. 251.

Laish, which the Danites once captured, could not have been in that region, as many have supposed.

A few minutes' walk west of the Tell el Kadi the marsh land begins. It is intersected by a number of rills, which would, if united, form a stream of considerable size, but which, separated as they are from each other, flow in tortuous channels till they reach the lower marsh land, on whose borders are to be seen scattered rice-fields of great luxuriance. Not far westward Thomson arrived at the swollen Hasbany, whose channel here intersects the volcanic tufa of the plain, and forms a kind of ravine or gorge. De Bertou[1] ascertained the width of the stream to be thirty feet in this place, and the height of the steep rocky banks to be sixty feet. After leaving this defile, which is not of long extent, the river divides into two arms, the narrower one of which was originally an artificial canal, probably constructed in ancient times for the irrigation of the otherwise unprofitable, but in reality thoroughly productive soil.[2] This canal or western arm forms with the eastern one a kind of delta, at whose northern angle lies the pitiful village of el-Zuk. No one has traced the Hasbany proper below this point; but Thomson followed the windings of the canal several miles westward, until it entered another stream flowing from the Merj Ayun, whose waters flow into Lake Huleh.

We have now indicated the geographical peculiarities of the sources of the Jordan east of the river Hasbany, so far as modern discovery throws light upon them. We can therefore pass lightly over the hypotheses and vague conjectures concerning them, so freely indulged in by many who venture to criticise the descriptions of Josephus and other early writers. As instances of what I mean, I may refer to Leake's, and even Thomson's, decided opinion, that Banias stands on the site of the ancient Dan; or, to take another instance, that the minor Jordan spoken of by Josephus was the Hasbany, a much larger stream than that of Banias.

The true state[3] of the case with regard to Josephus' position is this. He held the Banias stream to be the chief source of

[1] De Bertou, *l.c.* xii. p. 143.

[2] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 434 et sq.

[3] Robinson, Notes to Thomson in *Bib. Sacra*, vol. iii. pp. 207–214.

the Jordan, and accepted the current hypothesis of his day, that Lake Phiala was connected with this source by a subterranean passage,—a position which modern observers have shown to be physically impossible. He spoke, indeed, of a stream which he called the minor Jordan; but by this term he certainly did not refer to the Hasbany, but completely ignored it. The reason for this was, that in the popular opinion of the Hebrews, only those springs which are found within the Promised Land, at any rate within the actual territory of Israel, could be reckoned as strictly belonging to the holy river. This could only be the Banias spring, and those in its immediate neighbourhood; that of the Hasbany, lying among the high Anti-Lebanon range, was altogether outside of the Hebrew territory. It may be conjectured, without any straining of probabilities, that at an early period there was no connection, as at present, between the Hasbany and the stream formed by the union of the Tell el Kadi springs and that of Banias. Hydrographically speaking, the Hasbany is to be considered the true head waters of the Jordan, and its course would seem to have been a direct one to Lake Huleh, receiving no tributaries; while, on the other hand, the Banias and Tell el Kadi streams appear to have united and sent their independent contribution to the lake. If this is the case,[1] Josephus was justified in passing entirely by the Hasbany, and in regarding it as merely a tributary of the Samachonites Lacus, but as having no connection with the sacred Jordan.

Josephus speaks of the minor or smaller Jordan in four different places. One is where he alludes to Abraham's attack upon the Assyrians who had carried Lot captive. His words are: "to Dan, for thus is the other source of the Jordan called" (see Gen. xiv. 14, 15). In the second passage Josephus asserts that "the spies of the Danites made a day's journey farther into the great plain, which belonged to the city of Sidon, and which is not far from the mountains of Lebanon and the sources of the smaller Jordan: thither went the Danites, and built the city of Dan on the site of Laish or Leshem." The account, as it is given circumstantially in Judg. xviii. 7, 28, is as follows: "Then the five men departed and came to Laish, and saw the people that were therein, how they dwelt careless

[1] *Country of the Sources of the Jordan*, in *Bib. Sacra* for 1843, p. 12.

after the manner of the Zidonians [Sidonians], quiet and secure; and there was no magistrate in the land that might put them to shame in anything, and they were far from the Zidonians, and had no business with any man; . . . and there was no deliverer, because it was far from Zidon, and it [Laish or Leshem] had no business with any man; and it was in the valley that lieth by Beth-rehob. And they built a city, and dwelt therein."[1]

The third passage in Josephus speaks of the setting up of the golden calves by Jeroboam the first king of Israel, who introduced this mode of worship from Egypt. One of these he set up at Bethel, the other "at Dan, which lies near the source of the minor Jordan" (1 Kings xii. 29).

The fourth passage describes Seleucia, which lay upon the Samachonites, a lake thirty stadia broad and sixty long, whose marshes extend "*μέχρι Δάφνης χωρίου, πηγὰς ἔχοντος, αἳ τρέφουσι τὸν μικρὸν καλουμενον Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς χρυσῆς βοὸς νεών, προσπέμπουσαι τῷ μεγάλῳ*" (*de Bell. Jud.* iv. 11). From this passage it is plain that the Daphne mentioned in it must be identical with or near to the place spoken of elsewhere as *Δάνον, Δάνα,* and *Δάνη,* whose location is exactly that spoken of in connection with the minor Jordan, and as that where the golden calf was set up. Reland and Havercamp did not consider *Δάφνη* and *Δάνη* as two different places, but held the name Daphne, occurring only once as it does, erroneously given in place of Dan, since there is no proof that the name Dan was subsequently changed to Daphne. De Bertou's and Dr Barth's[2] hypothesis, that the name is derived from that of the oleander, which is so prevalent there, is not to be condemned as hasty or superficial; nor is Thomson's opinion to be rashly cast aside, that Daphne and Dan indicate two different places, which lay so near together as to be confounded together in popular speech. Dan he concluded to be Banias, and Daphne a place in the suburbs, coincident with the Tell el Kadi.

Wilson's accidental discovery[3] solved all the difficulties; for the miller spoken of above gave the name Shedshar ed Difnah to a small clump of trees two miles south of the Tell el Kadi.

[1] Von Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 126, note 29, b.
[2] Dr H. Barth, *Tagebuch*, MS.
[3] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 173.

This is the Δάφνη of our day, the Difnah or Oleander Grove of our day, and manifestly the little grove spoken of by Thomson.[1] The passage in Josephus is therefore to be taken literally, where he says that "the Samachonites extends to Daphne, but not to Dan,"—a new proof how important the closest local surveys of the geography of Palestine as it now is, is for the ascertaining its geography in historical epochs, in order not to follow groundless hypotheses, and thereby to introduce all sorts of confusion into the understanding of ancient authors, of which we have countless examples.[2]

All these passages in Josephus, remarks Robinson, manifestly discriminate between the smaller Jordan and that of Banias, of which, in the fourth one, Josephus speaks as the greater Jordan. Thomson remarks, however, that there does not seem at the present day to be any natural reason for this distinction. The "smaller Jordan" of the Jewish historian is evidently the stream flowing from Tell el Kadi, and the title of pre-eminence was given to the stream on whose banks stood the beautiful temple of Paneas, and whose waters issue from the great grotto of Panium.

That the Paneas of Josephus is not identical with Dan, is seen very clearly in the passages already cited from him, and in others which occur in his writings. Eusebius, too, visited Paneas, and discriminated between it and Dan. Jerome, too, makes distinct allusion to it in these words: "Dan viculus est quarto a Paneade mileario euntibus Tyrum, qui usque hodie sic vocatur. De quo et Jordanius flumen erumpens a loco sortitus est nomen." Dan seems, therefore, to have been a settlement at the Tell el Kadi. It is no sufficient proof to the contrary that there are now to be seen no remains of a temple dating back to the time of Jeroboam,[3] nor that the region is supposed to be inimical to health, in consequence of exhalations from the marshes. There are traces of former cultivation there, and north of the fountain there are traces of houses once standing there: a proof, at least, that the place was once regarded as

[1] Thomson, *l.c.* iii. p. 197.

[2] See *Onomasticon Hieron. s.v. Dan*, confirmed by Gesenius; also Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 171, 173.

[3] Burckhardt, Gesenius' ed. i. p. 95. See also Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 172.

habitable. The Arabs do not regard these exhalations insalubrious; and besides, the question may be permitted, whether at the time of a much denser population of the whole country than now exists, there was not a better drainage than at present, which prevented the existence of miasma.

Still another argument for the situation of Dan at the Tell el Kadi.[1] In Judg. xviii. 28, the Laish or Dan is said to have been "in the valley that lieth by Beth-rehob." Compare this with Num. xiii. 21, where, in the account of the sending of the spies to examine the country, we are told that "they searched the land from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob, as men come to Hamath,"—an expression equivalent to the later one, "from Dan to Beersheba." Here, therefore, there is an allusion to a place situated just at the entrance of the mountain-road leading to Hamath. This corresponds exactly to the position of Dan in Aram-beth-Rehob, the territory alluded to in 2 Sam. x. 6, and spoken of in Judg. i. 31 as unconquerable by the tribe of Asher, only gained by the Danites by the help of treachery.

7. *The west side of the Hasbany; the Merj Ayun; the springs and brooks of Jebel Safed; Lake el Huleh the Lacus Samachonites and the Waters of Merom of the ancients.*

From the bridge over the Hasbany at el-Ghujar, Buckingham gradually ascended the hills lying at the north-north-west, and after half an hour arrived at the Merj Ayun, a place lying on his right hand, and at a considerable elevation. He afterwards passed a number of villages which Berghaus has set down conjecturally upon his map, but of whose position enough is known with certainty to enable us to say that they form the line of watershed between the upper Jordan and the Litany. Buckingham's sickness prevented[2] his making any observations of importance,—a fact to be regretted all the more, since very few have followed him over the same route: even Seetzen and Burckhardt never explored the country lying on the west side of the Hasbany. Irby and Mangles, however, succeeded, in February 1818, in reaching the western bank of this river; but they found the marshes so dangerous, that their horses nearly perished in the mud. This season, it will be

[1] Rosenmüller, *Bib. Alterth.* i. p. 252.

[2] Buckingham, *Trav.* p. 407.

remembered, is the wettest of the whole year. Their peril was of course such as to prevent their making any observations, till they succeeded at last in reaching the extreme western side of the plain, the somewhat drier and higher road leading to Safed. The whole plain, according to Irby and Mangles, was literally covered with flocks of wild geese, ducks, snipes, and all sorts of wild-fowl. At the foot of the mountain range they saw a village in which stood some Roman ruins, and higher up there opened before them a broad panorama which embraced at once Lake Huleh and the Sea of Tiberias.[1]

Neither von Schubert, Russegger, Robinson, Robe, nor Wolcott succeeded,[2] in consequence of the incessant anarchy and hostility of the Druses, in exploring the western portion of the Hasbany valley. We are therefore the more thankful for the use of the diaries of Eli Smith and Thomson, the account of Major Robe, and that of my young friend Dr Barth.

A short distance from the bridge over the Hasbany, and close by the border of the marshes, the traveller meets an extensive basaltic dyke about two hundred feet in thickness and three hundred paces in width.[3] Its course is directly from north to south, directly parallel with the western mountain ridge, and several miles in extent. It forms the eastern wall, so to speak, of the Merj Ayun.[4] It is traversed by the mountain stream, of which mention has already been made, in connection with a canal leading westward from the Hasbany. From the bridge over this river, to the western range of mountains, Thomson estimated to be about twelve miles, and the extent of the plain north of the marshes about ten.

Merj Ayun forms[5] a district under the Druse government of the Lebanon. It is a fine tract of land; it lies west of the Wadi et Teim, and is bounded on the west by the wild valley

[1] See also Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 42; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 168; Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* p. 290; Dr H. Barth, *Tagebuch*, MS. 1847.

[2] Major Robe, in *Bib. Sacra*, pp. 9–14; Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 434, 439.

[3] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 165.

[4] Will. Tyriens. *Histor.* xxi. 28, p. 1014. See also Dr Barth, *Tagebuch*, 1847, and *Bib. Sacra* 1843, p. 13.

[5] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 166; Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 442; Thomson, *l.c.* iii. p. 206.

of the Litany, and on the south-east by the great basaltic dyke already referred to. It forms an almost round basin, is nearly level, is arable, and well watered. Whether Ayun has any connection with the Hebrew Ijon, in the neighbourhood of Dan and Naphtali (1 Kings xv. 20; 2 Chron. xvi. 4), is uncertain. Thomson holds it to be the same, and speaks strongly of its uncommon beauty and its ample supplies of water.

Thomson,[1] on leaving the union of the canal with the Ayun stream, and on ascending the rough road leading to the Castle Hunin, was surprised to see the resemblance in point of extent between Lake Tiberias and Lake Huleh, including its marsh land. To him the evidence was conclusive, that the latter lake once covered with its waters a large portion of the swamps which now fringe it. Indeed, it often happens that in the winter time, after heavy rains, the marshes seem to be transformed into a series of connected pools. How easily the hydrographical character of a lake like this may be affected, is shown by the circumstance that, at the instigation of a number of agriculturists, Ibrahim Pasha was persuaded to allow some rocks to be blasted which stood at the outlet. The result was an immediate fall in the waters of the lake. The soil thus reclaimed yielded for several years a most abundant harvest, but at length the soil deposited at the outlet raised the waters to their former elevation. Thomson was assured that the whole lake could be drained at little expense.

Major Robe's map exhibits four little streams flowing from the mountain ridge west of the lake south-easterly till they enter its waters. Their names are Ain es Serab, et-Thahab, el-Masiah, and el-Barbiereh. Wilson gives[2] these names with comparatively little difference in their forms. South of these streams is the larger one of Ain Belat, whose source is a hundred and ten Paris feet above the level of the sea. Still farther south, and only a quarter of an hour's walk from the north-western corner of Lake Huleh, is the uncommonly copious spring of el-Mellahah. This Thomson ascertained to be twenty rods in circumference and two feet in depth. The water was lukewarm, and unpleasant to the taste: the stream

[1] Thomson, *l.c.* iii. p. 201. See also C. de Bertou, *Mem.* xii. p. 144; and Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 166.

[2] Wilson, *l.c.* ii. p. 166.

that conveyed it to the lake was forty to fifty feet wide. Wilson says it may be ranked among the more prominent head waters which feed the Jordan.

The district in the immediate neighbourhood of this spring, Thomson says, formed the largest continuous extent[1] of grazing land that he had ever seen. It is completely level, and covered with rushes and grass. Countless flocks of white sheep and black goats, every one with its shepherd before and the dogs behind, traverse it in all directions from sunrise to sunset: herds of camels and cattle animate every part of the plain. Buffaloes are seen wading in the mud, wild, destitute of hair, thin in their build, with flapping ears, staring eyes, and powerful tusks. There is nothing poetical in the appearance of these creatures, as in the reem[2] praised by Job, David, and Isaiah, and which, though called the unicorn, seems to be the wild buffalo, still the same untameable creature as when described[3] in Job xxxix. 9–12.

South-west of the el-Mellahah spring, and only half a mile from it, is the north-western corner of the lake. The north portion of el-Huleh is subject to the control of Hasbeya. Strictly speaking, the name is only applicable to the northern half, but its application to the southern has become universal. The northern shore is muddy, but the southern is steep and stony. The breadth Thomson estimated to be about seven miles, but towards the outlet it is much narrower. All its sides, excepting the northern, are sharply defined, and arable land comes down even to the water's side.

De Bertou gives[4] the depression of the surface of Lake Huleh as eighteen and a half feet below the level of the Mediterranean. Here he thinks the true Ghor begins.

The name el-Huleh has been universally applied[5] to this lake since the time of the Crusades; yet its original application seems to have been at a much earlier date. It has been con-

[1] Thomson, *l.c.* p. 200. See also Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 437.

[2] Rosenmüller, *Bib. Alterthk.* iv. pp. 199–204.

[3] Von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 117. See also Wilson, *Lands, etc.* ii. p. 167; Dr Roth, *Zoology*, in Harris, *The Highlands of Ethiopia*, vol. ii. Append. p. 425.

[4] C. de Bertou, *l.c.* xii. p. 145.

[5] Rosenmüller, *Bib. Alterthk.* i. p. 253, Note 70, p. 309, and ii. pp. 175, 176.

jectured[1] that the name of Hul, a son of Aram (Gen. x. 23), has some connection with the word Huleh, the more as Aram's possessions comprised the northern part of Syria, the country immediately contiguous. There is the more probability in this, that the word Hul signifies just such a depressed valley as that in which Lake Huleh lies. Josephus calls it by a term whose etymology is unknown, Lake Samochonites; in the Old Testament it is designated as the waters of Merom, *i.e.* waters of the highlands; and in the adjacent plains Joshua gained his memorable conquest over Jabin king of Hazor, and the princes who were allied with him, and brought the northern part of Palestine under the dominion of Israel. Strabo and Pliny allude to this lake under various designations. The former speaks of the marshes north of Lake Gennesareth, in which grow aromatic rushes and the calamus. Pliny, too, speaks of these as the natural productions of the place; and Schubert's discoveries showed that they were perfectly truthful in their account.

From the narratives of some travellers who visited Lake Huleh during the middle ages, as well as in the writings of Cotovicus (1599) and Quaresmius (1622), we learn[2] that in dry summers the whole bed was dry, nothing remaining but an extensive swamp. Cotovicus asserts that he has seen it when it was shrunk into a little pond of not more than five hundred paces in circumference.

8. *The Mountain Cities on the Western Range, or Jebel Safed, Ibl or Hibl (Abel, Abil), in the Merj Ayun (Ijon), Hunin, Kedesh, and Safed.*

The western continuation of the Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, as well as the small neighbouring ridge of Arbel, and which now bears the general name of Jebel Safed, is interesting to us as the location of several localities of historical importance, and which have been made the object of recent careful inquiry. Among the names which are connected with this range, are those of the biblical Ijon, of Ibl (Abel), Hunin, Kedesh, Benit, and Safed. Of these the Hunin and Kedesh are the most interesting, as probably affording the best clue to the situation of the extremely

[1] Rosenmüller, *Bib. Alterthk.* i. p. 253.

[2] Quaresmius, *Elucid. Terr. Sct.* ii. vii. c. 12, fol. 872.

ancient city of Hazor, the most powerful place in the northern portion of Canaan, and the residence of Jabin, the mightiest of the Canaanite kings.

All of these places lie in the least known portion of Galilee, the northern part, on the eastern confines of the Phœnician territory: they offer, therefore, only probability instead of certainty, in a comparison of the past with the present: still, meagre as are the sources of our knowledge regarding them, they are not unworthy of our investigation.

(1.) *The Hibl of Buckingham; Ibl of Eli Smith; Ibl or Abil el Hawa of Thomson; and the Abil el Kamh of Thomson. The various places bearing the name of Abil. The Abel-beth-maachah and the Ijon of Scripture.*

Buckingham's diary seems to give the situation of the place Hibl with accuracy, as lying on a cone-shaped mountain, which rises over against the southern contraction of the Hasbeya river. Eli Smith, in passing from Ain el Mellahah past Ain Belat, passed through a place called Ibil or Abil,[1] and thence passed on towards the Litany bridge. When Thomson passed from the lower Hasbany Valley, in the volcanic plain lying on his way to Banias, he was told that on the mountains at his left there were the three places, Ibel or Abil el Hawa, el-Khiyam, and el-Ghujar. Of these, the first-named was said to be the one farthest to the south-east, and eastward of Merj Ayun. On Kiepert's map there is also entered another Abil, to which the affix el-Kama is made: it lies farther south-west, and near the southern extremity of the Merj Ayun, and south of the Druse village of Metullah. On Robe's map, however, this name is placed farther to the south-west, on the road past Wadi Diflah; while at the locality south-west of the Merj Ayun there is the simple name Abil, and the more easterly one on the Hasbeya is entirely wanting. From this it is impossible to tell whether there are two or three places of the same name in that vicinity, and which of them is the Abel of the Old Testament.[2]

From Hunin to that western Ibl or Abil el Kamh, Thomson rode directly north, his course for the first half-hour

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 454, 459.

[2] See also Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 166; Thomson, iii. pp. 187, 204, 206.

taking him over the ridge of the high plateau, and through a thick growth of oaks and other trees. On one of the adjacent hills a company of female camels was pasturing with their young,—a sight altogether new to him. The herd was the property of an Arab tribe which had encamped north of Hunin. Descending with considerable abruptness for some minutes, he crossed the barrier line between Belad Besharah and Merj Ayun, and left Abil on the east, lying several hundred feet lower down. This Abil, a large Christian village, is so celebrated for its excellent wheat, *i.e.* Kamh,[1] that it is generally known as Abil el Kameh.

Robinson thought it quite probable[2] that the Merj Ayun is the Ijon of the Old Testament, but was unable to come to a decision whether this Abil, or some other, was the Abel or Abel-beth-maachah of Holy Writ. Thomson, however, was decidedly of the conviction,[3] that the Abel el Kamh which he passed through was the biblical Abel, because in the Scriptures it was very often coupled with Ijon, while the latter, judging by the pronunciation, is identical with Ayun. This view Robinson in subsequent years has assented to. It only remains to say, that Buckingham alone has mentioned a place as Merj Ayun, which was elevated above the road which he took, and was on his right: perhaps the ancient Ijon, which would then command the valley on the east as Abil would do the west.

Abel is discriminated from Beth-maachah in the passage where we are told of Joab (2 Sam. xx. 14, 15), that he "went unto Abel and to Beth-maachah;" but in 1 Kings xv. 20, both places, unquestionably in consequence of their proximity, are called by a single word, Abel-beth-maachah: "Benhadad smote Ijon, and Dan, and Abel-beth-maachah, and all Cinneroth, with all the land of Naphtali." In other passages Abel is spoken of without the addition of any other word, as in 2 Sam. xx. 18, for example. In 2 Chron. xvi. 4, in the repetition of the account of Benhadad, Abel is given as Abel-maim, which, however, is no other place than that which in 2 Sam. xx. 19 is spoken of as a city "peaceable and faithful—a mother in Israel," *i.e.* one of the chief cities. Reland,[4] who was unacquainted with the

[1] Von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 115.
[2] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 217.
[3] Thomson, *l.c. Bib. Sacra*, iii. p. 204.
[4] H. Reland, *Pal.* p. 519.

position of the modern Ibl, came to the correct conclusion that the place could not have been an eastern one, but must have been a Galilean city west of Paneas; for in 2 Kings xv. 29, where mention is made of Tiglath-Pileser the king of Assyria, and his invasion of northern Palestine, the places which he captured are probably arranged with some view to their geographical position. The record runs: "In the days of Pekah king of Israel, came Tiglath-Pileser king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria."

The exact position of this place Abel seems to be, then, on the west side of the valley and stream which run from Merj Ayun to Huleh, and below the opening into the Merj, on a very well defined tell or hill, whose slope ran far away southward. This position gave it its advantages for raising fine wheat, and to fit it to become in ancient times a "mother in Israel," a parent of cities. But, at the same time, the account of Tiglath-Pileser's carrying into captivity a portion of the inhabitants, shows how early another population pressed in, and perhaps mixed with the remnant which had been left there. But regarding the changes wrought in this way, we have no accurate data left to us.

(2.) *The Castle Hûnin.*

Thomson was the first traveller who ascended the peak of Jebel Hûnin, 2500 feet high, from the Merj Ayun, and the first to give a detailed description of the castle on its summit. He devoted special attention[1] to the place, since he believed it to be the site of the ancient city of Hazor, the former metropolis of North Galilee. The castle is visible from Banias. It is rectangular in shape, and is nine hundred feet long by three hundred broad. The central castle was well defended with fosses and towers, of which Thomson has given a detailed description. The main point of interest is, however, that this great structure, which is evidently Saracenic in character, rests upon a foundation of the same large bevelled stones, clamped with iron, which are found in the remnant of Solomon's temple in Jerusalem, in the Hippicus Tower, also there, and in the

[1] Thomson, *l.c.* iii. pp. 201–203.

remains of some of the Phœnician cities, Ruad for instance (the Aradus of the ancients), and more strikingly still in Tortosa[1] opposite. These remains all seem to date back to the epoch of Solomon. Besides the places just alluded to, Thomson tells us that they have been seen by him in the walls of Banias, and at esh-Shukif[2] on the Litany. Wolcott observed the same architectural forms in the foundations of Baalbek, on which the beautiful temples were built apparently at a subsequent epoch. They have also been traced near Byblus,[3] at Jebail (Gebal). In all these places they are uniformly different from any stones left by Greek and Roman architects, and must evidently be referred to a very remote antiquity.

These facts seem to warrant our referring this skilful workmanship in stone to the people of Gebal or Byblus, the Giblites, who were included in the promise of subjugation by Israel (Josh. xiii. 5), but who were in truth never subdued, and always were connected with the Phœnicians. In 1 Kings v. 17, 18, we are told that "the king (Hiram) commanded, and they (the Giblites) brought great stones, costly stones, and hewed stones, to lay the foundation of the house," etc. The prophet Ezekiel (xxvii. 9) says of them, that they were the ship carpenters of Tyre; and it is probable that they were teachers of architecture to the Jews of David's and Solomon's time.

From this it is right to infer that Hûnin is a place of great antiquity; and situated so near to the Tyrian territory as it was, it is not unlikely that it was the seat of an ancient Canaanite prince. This gives a degree of colour to Thomson's opinion, that that seat was the capital of Jabin, the head of the alliance of north Canaanite chieftains. Hazor is mentioned in Josh. xix. 36–38 in immediate connection with Kedesh, which was but a short distance south of Hûnin; and in 2 Kings xv. both places are spoken of together, though in a reversed order, Kadesh first and then Hazor, just as we have Gilead, Galilee, and all Naphtali. Further, Josephus tells us that Hazor lay upon a lofty mountain, impending over the Samochonitic Lake, which happily describes the location of Hûnin. Kedesh, which

[1] Thomson, *Missionary Herald*, 1841, vol. xxxvii. p. 99.

[2] Thomson, *l.c. Bib. Sacra*, iii. p. 207.

[3] Wolcott, *Excursion from Sidon to Baalbek*, in *Bib. Sacra*, 1843, No. vii. p. 85; comp. Robinson, in *Bib. Sacra*, iii. p. 213.

is mentioned several times in Scripture in immediate connection with Hazor, lies somewhat farther towards the south: it has a similar situation, a similar castle, apparently dating from the same epoch; and, according to Thomson, everything speaks in favour of Hazor's having been at Hûnin, or in the immediate vicinity.[1]

The only thing which is wanting to give this view a positive character, and to commend it to every one, is the want of any similarity between the sound of the modern name and the presumed ancient one, this being an argument of the first degree of importance in establishing the identity of modern places with ancient ones. It is true the situation is a favourable one, and the prospect from it, as described in the glowing words of Thomson,[2] is one of the most comprehensive in the whole Holy Land. It embraces the Lebanon range and Hermon, Bashan and Gilead, Moab and Judah, Samaria and Galilee, the plain of Cœle-Syria, and that around Lake Huleh.

(3.) *Kedesh, Kedesh-Naphtali: the Κυδισσα of Eusebius and Jerome.*

The mountain lying south of Hûnin, and some miles distant from it, has been ascended by De Bertou, and found to be 1258 Paris feet above the sea. We have, however, no detailed description of it. Major Robe[3] passed it on his way from Lake Huleh to Safed, but did not ascend it. Eli Smith visited it in 1844, but has published no full account[4] of it, although

[1] Captain Wilson, in his recent exploration, made important excavations on the site of these ruins. The western building he found to be a tomb containing eleven *loculi;* the eastern one he ascertained to be a temple of the sun, of about the same date as Baalbek. Close to the temple was an altar with a Greek inscription, and a finely worked sarcophagus. Stanley conjectures (*S. and P.* p. 393) that Hazor is above Banias, on the southern slopes of Mount Hermon. Robinson, however, on what seems more adequate authority, places its site at Tell Khuraïbeh, one hour's distance south of Kedesh. See *B. R.* iii. 365. Porter, too, in his *Five Years in Damascus*, vol. i. p. 304, has some remarks worth consideration respecting the site of Hazor. His theory has the more probability, from the similarity between the name Hasûr which he heard, and the ancient Hazor.—Ed.

[2] Thomson, *l.c.* iii. p. 203.

[3] Major Robe, *l.c. Bib. Sacra*, 1843, p. 11.

[4] *Bib. Sacra*, vol. iii. p. 203.

he wrote out a full manuscript report. Robinson did not extend his researches thither. De Bertou[1] tells us that he saw some inscriptions there, but he did not copy them, and makes only an incidental allusion to them. Benjamin of Tudela[2] visited the place in 1165, and speaks of it as Kedesh-Naphtali. He found no Jews living there then, but discovered a few graves of rabbins, showing that at an earlier period there had lived there people of his own religious communion.

The king of Kedesh was conquered at the time of Joshua, in common with the other Canaanite chieftains of the north: the place is often alluded to in connection with Hazor and other strong posts of that region (Josh. xii. 19). At the subsequent distribution of the country, Kedesh was assigned to the tribe of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 37), and was afterwards, under the title of Kedesh of Galilee, made one of the cities of refuge to which those who had committed accidental manslaughter could flee, and be spared the retribution by blood which was allowed under other circumstances by the Mosaic law. The two other places named as cities of refuge were, Shechem on the mountains of Ephraim, and Hebron on the mountains of Judah (Josh. xx. 7). Kedesh, too, was one of the three cities in Naphtali which were made over to the Levites (Josh. xxi. 32); a place, therefore, not without importance. It gains its greatest celebrity, however, as the home of the hero Barak, who was summoned from Kedesh by the prophetess Deborah to engage in battle with Sisera (Judg. iv. 6, 10). Sisera was the chief captain of a mighty prince, Jabin (the second of that name, the first having been killed by Joshua). He lived at Hazor, and for twenty years had held Israel in vassalage. Barak, we are told, collected from Zebulon and Naphtali (*i.e.* from the south-west and the north-west) ten thousand men, and withdrew to Tabor, at the foot of which the battle was fought and the victory won. Hazor can therefore scarcely be looked for in the neighbourhood of Kedesh, nor in the immediate district west of the waters of Merom; for had it been there, how would Barak, in a city so little removed, have been able to summon his men, and make all the preparations for war? Regarding Sisera, we are told that he lived at Harosheth of

[1] C. de Bertou, *l.c. Bullet.* xii. p. 145.

[2] Benjamin von Tudela, *Itinerar.* ed. Asher, 1840, i. p. 82.

the Gentiles,—a name which is mentioned three times (Judg. iv. 2, 13, 16). Yet in 1 Sam. xii. 9 we are told that Israel came under the dominion of Sisera at Hazor. The situation of Harosheth is undetermined by actual discovery,[1] yet it seems probable that it must be looked for in the neighbourhood of Hazor, the residence of the king, and that it was not in the immediate vicinity of Kedesh, on the south-west corner of Lake Huleh, where it has been set arbitrarily on some maps. There is no argument for this position in the biblical narrative. In Judg. iv. 13 we are told that "Sisera gathered together all his chariots, even nine hundred chariots[2] of iron (in contradistinction to the common wooden ones), and all the people who were with him, from Harosheth of the Gentiles unto the river of Kishon." The result is given in ver. 15: "The Lord discomfited Sisera, and all his chariots, and all his host, with the edge of the sword before Barak," so that Sisera alighted from his chariot, and fled towards Harosheth on foot: the direction is not given us. Then follows the account of his reception in the tent of Heber, and the manner in which he met his death at the hands of Jael. It has been common to transfer the locality of this story to the west, but it seems to be without good reason. But if Harosheth of the Gentiles is to be understood as a general gathering-place of people of various tribes and nations, it seems natural to locate it on the east side of the Jordan, east of Banias, and at the base of Hermon, for that region has always been characterized as a rendezvous of Syrians from the north. And it is just there that we find the locality of the Hazuri, discovered by Burckhardt, and which I am led to believe indicates the site of the ancient Hazor.

Eusebius and Jerome give in the *Onomasticon* (under Cades) no new information regarding the locality of Kedesh, which they hold to be identical with Kedoissa: the first states that it is eight, the second that it is twenty, miles from Tyre; but both agree that it is near Paneas. They confirm the statement of Josephus, that the place lay on the confines of Galilee and Tyre, from which circumstance this populous border city, which lacked none of the materials of war, was always full of bitterness against the Galilæans, and ready for battle with them. The

[1] Von Raumer, *Pal.* p. 126.

[2] Keil, *Commentar zu Jos.* p. 207 (trans. in Clark's For. Theol. Library).

territory was subsequently overrun by Tiglath-Pileser as far as to this border city (2 Kings xv. 29).

Robinson,[1] who doubts the identity of Hûnin and Hazor, is inclined, in view of the want of water at the former place, the probable nearness of Kedesh to the lake, and the consecutiveness of the Galilæan localities mentioned in several places (Josh. xix. 35–37; 2 Kings xv. 29), to place Hazor south of Kedesh. He expected to find, between Kedesh and Safed, ruins which should confirm him in his doubts. He did not know that, in 1844, Eli Smith discovered[2] important ruins three miles south of Kedesh, although the name bore no resemblance to that of Hazor. It was called el-Chureibeh.[3] The place was not visited by Smith in person, who only heard of its existence from the country people. Should it prove to be the Hazor of the Old Testament, the spring near it would probably be found to be the En-hazor of Josh. xix. 37.

(4.) *Safed or Safet.*

The south-western arm of the Hermon system, extending along the west side of the Hasbany and the Lake el Huleh, Jebel Safed, received its name from the city and the castle of Safed, which lie on the extreme southern elevation of the long range, where it declines steeply eastward towards el-Huleh and southward towards the lake of Tiberias. Irby and Mangles visited the place in 1818; Burckhardt, in 1812, ascended it in four hours from Jacob's Bridge. The place had then six hundred houses, a quarter of them being occupied by Jews; the place being one of those which they esteem holy, although it has no recorded connection with the history of their nation.

Robinson[4] visited Safed in June 1838, Thomson after the great and destructive earthquake of 1837, and Wilson in 1843. At the time of that great convulsion the place had a population of

[1] Robinson, *Bibl. Research.* ii. p. 435; and *Bib. Sacra*, iii. p. 212.

[2] *Bib. Sacra*, May 1847, vol. iv. p. 403.

[3] Capt. Wilson, in his recent tour, discovered a hill a little more than two miles south-east of Kedesh, on which were important ruins: he could trace the walls of the citadel, and a portion of the wall. He regards this place as the site of Hazor, instead of accepting Tel Chureibeh as the locality. —Ed.

[4] The reader is referred to full details regarding Safed in Robinson's *Bibl. Researches*, and in Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*.—Ed.

about 10,000, of whom the half were Jews.[1] Safed stood at the centre of a district which felt the shock most sensibly, and most of the city was seriously injured. The buildings were, however, soon repaired; and at the time of Robinson's visit, in the next year, the place was well on the way to its restoration. The peculiar structure of the rows of houses up the side of the hill has been the source of much destruction both of life and property; for the toppling over of the higher rows carried ruin to all below. The houses of the Jews' quarter, being the poorest constructed of all, suffered the most. The castle, which has been esteemed a very strong structure, was rent completely into fragments, with a great loss of life to those who had fled thither for security. Thomson,[2] the American missionary at Beirut, hastened thither with all speed, bringing a physician, and such supplies as could be transported; yet all that could be done was insufficient to meet the wants of the terrified and flying population. The hasty departing from the city of those who had been spared, recalled to Thomson's mind the flight of Lot and his daughters from Zoar at the time of the destruction on the plain.

The district in which Safed is found was probably once included within the ancient limits of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 32-40); and Herbelot considers that it was the former capital of the tribe, although no mention is made of the place either in the Old Testament or in the New. Maundrell[3] holds that this was the place which the Saviour had in mind, and probably in sight, when He spoke of a city upon a hill that could not be hid (Matt. v. 14).

The elevated situation of Safed ensures it fresh and pure air in summer, and, like Jerusalem, it enjoys a healthy climate: in winter, numerous clouds gather around the two round hills which tower up a half-hour's distance farther north. The country in the immediate neighbourhood of the city has extensive vineyards, olive plantations, and gardens, in which the pomegranate and the fig flourish. The valleys around are very fruitful. The rearing of these articles, the dyeing with indigo, the weaving of woollen stuffs, occupy the inhabitants, who, on

[1] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 154.

[2] Thomson, *Visit to Safed*, in *Missionary Herald*, Jan. 1837.

[3] An opinion which has been repeated by most recent travellers.—Ed.

account of their industry, have a deserved prominence over those of some of the neighbouring towns. Their high situation assures them an extensive view,[1] especially from the castle: at the south-east, Lake Tiberias is seen; at the east the elevated table-land of Jolan (Gaulonitis), intersected by deep valleys and gorges running to the sea; beyond that the limits of the Leja (the Hauran) can be discerned, from which rises in marked pre-eminence a single peak, Jebel Kuleib, or Kubeib (Kelb) Hauran, the Hauran dog, which Col. Leake considers to be the Mount Alsadamus[2] of Ptol. v. 15. Farther south, beyond the lake and the Ghor, are seen the ranges of Ajlun and el-Hössn, in the ancient country of Bashan or Batanea; in the south rise Tabor and the Samaritan mountains; directly east and north are naked peaks, while Hermon is generally veiled from sight by the intervening clouds.

NOTE BY THE AUTHOR.—*Situation of Hazor, the capital city of king Jabin, and the metropolis of northern Canaan, on the east side of the Waters of Merom, and identical with the ruins of Hazuri near Sheikh Oman el Hazur or Ain el Hazuri (the En-hazor of the ancient Jewish history).*

It remains for me to state the grounds of my dissent from the opinions already laid before the reader regarding the situation of Hazor, which has been supposed by nearly all travellers to be upon the west side of the waters of Merom and the sources of the Jordan. I think it is to be looked for, on the contrary, in the ruins of the place called Hazuri, which Burckhardt names in his work, but which he failed to connect with the very important place which we know the ancient Hazor must have been. He passed on the Damascus road, running east from Banias, after a walk of an hour and a half, a spring known as Ain el Hazuri, and learned that, at an hour's distance still farther north, lay the ruins of a city called Hazuri. Thomson received a confirmation of this fact while he was at the citadel of Banias, he being told that at a very short distance away there is a very ancient ruin called Sheikh Othman el Hazûr. This did not remind him of that very old city of northern Canaan, whose name was so identical in sound, and which played so important

[1] Robinson, *Bibl. Research.* ii. p. 438; Wilson, *Lands, etc.*, ii. p. 159.

[2] Col. W. M. Leake, Preface to Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. xii.

a part in Jewish history, the reason clearly being that the idea that Hûnin was the ancient Hazor had so firmly taken possession of his mind. As the distance of the ruins is, at the most, not more than two and a half hours from Banias, and they are not more than an hour's walk from the citadel, it is to be hoped that some future travellers will take pains to ascertain whether I am correct in supposing that the ancient Hazor was identical with the el-Hazuri alluded to by Burckhardt. But till there be found good reason for thinking that I am wrong, I must believe Kiepert[1] justified in connecting the two places on his map of Palestine, as was the case in the time of the judges and kings.

My grounds for this conviction are as follows:—*First*, The remarkable and very close similarity in the names in a district very little visited, in which the old indigenous appellations perpetuate themselves from age to age and from century to century with almost no change. *Secondly*, The *commanding position* which was chosen, lying as it did upon the direct road between upper Canaan and the Syrian Damascus. Its history seems to extend back to the very earliest pre-Israelitic period. Lying as it did upon the main highway between upper Canaan and Damascus, it formed an excellent situation on which subsequently to build an Israelite fortress above the sacred spring which supplied the head waters of the Jordan. The position was one which was capable of becoming of the same interest as a border city of Israel as it had been under Jabin, on account of its ancient location on the confines of the Syrian, Damascus, and Canaanite territory. *Thirdly*, It is not a matter destitute of weight, that Burckhardt speaks of the shrine of a Moslem saint upon the Damascus road—since the Mohammedans often bury their holy men in places of historical importance—and that this Ain el Hazuri, or spring of Hazuri, singularly corresponds to the En-hazor mentioned in Josh. xix., where Hazor is separated by the interposition of Edrei and Kedesh from En-hazor.[2] It is manifest that Hazor and En-hazor were two different places; and this led Eli Smith, in looking for the location of the latter, to set it at the profuse spring of Mellahah on the west side of Lake el Huleh. Reland[3] declares his

[1] Kiepert, *Bibel Atlas, nach den neuesten und besten Hulfsquellen*, Tab. iii.
[2] See Keil, *Commentar zu Josua*, p. 354.
[3] H. Relandi *Pal.* pp. 123, 706.

opinion that the frontier city, Hazor-enan, mentioned in Num. xxxiv. 9, is identical with the spring of Hazor. In Eusebius and Jerome the same place, under the simple name of Enan, is spoken of as a frontier town towards Damascus; and in Ezek. xl. 17, where the northern boundary is given, the full name Hazor-enan is found.

In confirmation of this is the second passage in the *Onomasticon*: *Ἡνασωρ κλήρου Νεφθαλειμ· κεῖται καὶ ἀνωτέρω Ἀσώρ.* Jerome repeats: Enasor in tribu Nephtalim. Posita est supra Asor: so that we can scarcely doubt that the situation of both Azor and En-hazor was east of Banias. In Thomson's narrative, the very ancient ruins of the city receive no name, but the shrine at the spring is called by him Sheikh Othman el Hazur: here, however, Burckhardt seems to have observed no ruins.

Fourthly, It may be remarked, that in the account of the invasion of Tiglath-Pileser (2 Kings xv. 29), the arrangement of the names of places is such that Hazor forms the transition from the cities of Naphtali—that is, the last-named in tracing the order from Kedesh to Gilead,—an arrangement which corresponds accurately with the geographical order, from the west side of the sea to the eastern one, and thence to the country farther inland. *Fifthly*, From Josh. xi., where the conquest over Jabin by the Hebrew leader is narrated, the following inference is to be drawn. Hazor is represented as the royal residence, which Josephus calls *Ἄσωρος*, and which, he says, *ὑπέρκειται τῆς Σεμεχωνίτιδος λίμνης*; which Thomson interpreting to refer to a high mountain overhanging the sea, referred to Hûnin. Robinson,[1] on the contrary, remarks that the passage does not necessarily refer to any eminence at all, but only a place near to the sea: thus judging, he preferred the site of Kedesh as the probable location of Hazor to Hûnin, ten miles farther north, or Banias, still farther. But Josephus, in his description of the Samochonitic Lake, states that it, with its marshes, extended as far northward as Dan, and so to the very neighbourhood of Banias. It could be brought, therefore, into near relations with Hazor. This is made the more certain by Keil's remark, that the Greek of Josephus may be interpreted as referring to the district lying *north* of Lake el Huleh.

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Sacra*, iii. p. 212.

In Josh. xi. 3, among the people who are named in contradistinction to the mountain tribes of the north country, the Hivites are mentioned as living "under Hermon in the land of Mizpeh." The country referred to here can only be the great plain which extends north of Lake Huleh, from its narrow western margin eastward past Tell el Kadi to Banias, and thence on to the outlying spurs of Jebel Heish, on which lie the ancient ruins of Hazuri, which may with justice be said to command the lake.

It is only upon this level tract that use could be made of the chariots, which would have been useless in the mountain land at the west. This use of these formidable engines of war, especially alluded to in the account of the campaign of Jabin II. king of Hazor (Judg. iv. 2, 13), where nine hundred iron-bound ones were employed, was particularly adapted to the Syrian plain east of the Jordan. The use of these in the mountain land may have been the cause of the sudden overthrow of Sisera, since in the highlands of Safed they would become a source of embarrassment rather than of help. At a third period—at the time of the Maccabees—allusion is made in Josephus' narrative[1] to a πεδίον Ἀσώρ, whither Jonathan withdrew on his way from Lake Gennesareth to meet king Demetrius; and this can refer to no other place than the great plain of Banias and el-Huleh.

If now the conflict under Joshua, who advanced from Gilgal (Josh. x. 43), *i.e.* from the west and south side of the Jordan, took place at the west, between the waters of Merom and Kishon, the statement made in Josh. xi. 8 shows that a part of Jabin's forces were driven north-westward[2] towards Sidon, and that another part was driven "into the valley of Mizpeh eastward," *i.e.* the plain of Banias, where two places of further flight stood open, one up the Hasbeya vale, the other by the Damascus road.

The next step in the sacred narrative is (ver. 20), that "Joshua turned" (giving up the pursuit), "and took Hazor, and smote the king thereof with the sword; for Hazor was beforetime the head of all those kingdoms." In ver. 11 we read that "he burned Hazor with fire;" and ver. 13, that "as for

[1] H. Relandi *Pal.* pp. 262, 372, 597, 708.

[2] Keil, *Com. zu Jos.* p. 209.

the cities that stood still in their strength, Israel burned none of them, save Hazor only." The cities which stood on the hills in the Phœnician frontier were spared this it seems. In all this account there appears no reason for doubting the identity of Hazor and el-Hazuri. That the name lived[1] on after the destruction of the city, is evident from the allusion in Judg. iv., where we are told that a second Jabin king of Hazor, whose chief captain Sisera lived at Harosheth of the Gentiles, had again become powerful, and for twenty years had compelled the Israelites to pay him tribute; a vassalage which was only ended by the heroic deeds of Barak and Deborah on Tabor.

Nor does Hazor disappear then and there from history: for Solomon, the great patron of architecture, we are told expressly in 1 Kings ix. 15, built, in addition to his temple and palace at Jerusalem, Hazor, Megiddo, and Gazer (which the Egyptians had destroyed);[2] and therefore in the ruins of Hazuri we have reason to expect to find traces of the architecture of Solomon's age: for although Tiglath-Pileser, in his conquest of Pekah the king of Israel (2 Kings xv. 29), captured Ijon, Abel-beth-maachah, Janoah, Kedesh, and Hazor, together with Gilead, Galilee, and the whole land of Naphtali, and carried the inhabitants into captivity;[3] yet we can hardly deem it probable that he converted the places themselves into hopeless ruins: the foundations must have been too thoroughly laid for that, as we know from the instances elsewhere which remain to the present time.

Yet still, in spite of the destruction by the Assyrians, the name lived on till the time of the Maccabees, and the great contest between king Demetrius and Jonathan the Maccabean took place upon the plain of Hazor (1 Macc. xi. 67).

[1] Ewald, *Gesch. der Volks Israel*, ii. p. 253.
[2] Von Raumer, *Pal.* p. 188.
[3] Comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* ix. 11, and H. Relandi, *Pal.* p. 697.

CHAPTER II.

SEC. 5. THE MIDDLE STAGE OF THE JORDAN BASIN,

FROM THE WATERS OF MEROM (EL-HULEH) TO LAKE GENNESARETH OR THE SEA OF TIBERIAS (BAHR TABARIEH).

DISCURSION I.

THE COURSE OF THE JORDAN FROM EL-HULEH TO ITS ENTRANCE INTO THE SEA OF TIBERIAS—THE CULTIVATED PLAIN OF EL-BATIHEH WITH THE GHAWARINEH—ET-TELL, THE ANCIENT BETHSAIDA JULIAS—THE TWO BETHSAIDAS IN GALILEE AND IN GAULONITIS.

WE now advance to the discussion of the middle course of the Jordan, beginning at the place where it emerges from Lake el Huleh, and continuing on to the place where it leaves Lake Gennesareth to enter upon the third stage of its course, which is analogous to the second, although with some change in the relative proportions of the natural features, and with some essential differences in the physical character of the two.

This middle course extends from north to south in the normal direction of the whole river system, and is of almost the same length with the upper course, which reaches from the Hasbeya spring to the southern extremity of Lake el Huleh, a distance of ten or twelve hours.

The real emergence of the Jordan from el-Huleh has been observed by few travellers, since the great Damascus road, which they usually take, crosses the Jacob Bridge, a short distance farther south. Only von Wildenbruch[1] has given more attention to this point than the most of his predecessors. According to his barometrical measurements at Jacob's Bridge, the water level of Lake Huleh does not vary much from a hundred feet above the sea (according to De Bertou, 322

[1] Von Wildenbruch, *Profil.* in *Monatsber. der Berlin. Gesell.* vol. iii. Plate iii. p. 251.

Paris feet). Wildenbruch found that at Jacob's Bridge the water of the Jordan was 84·4 Paris feet above the sea. If his measurement of the level of Lake Tiberias is correct (793 Paris feet below the Mediterranean), the fall of the Jordan between the bridge and the lake is 877·5 Paris feet. According to the measurements of De Bertou, the hypsometrical difference between the city of Tiberias and Hasbeya is 956 French feet.[1]

According to Burckhardt,[2] the southern extremity of Lake el Huleh is about three-quarters of an hour's distance above the Jissr Beni Yakub, or Jacob's Bridge, which in his time designated the frontier of the pashalics of Damascus and Akka. On this account a custom-house was stationed there,[3] and tribute was levied upon all Christians who passed over the road. This disappeared together with the Turkish guard-house at the time when Egypt had the control of the Syrian government, and caravans had an undisturbed right to the free use of the road to Damascus. Wilson found a Turkish garrison here in 1843, however: the soldiers were in the greatest dismay in consequence of the daily expectation of an incursion of Beduins from the Euphrates.

There are to be seen here the ruins of a once large and stately khan, built of basalt, on the east bank of the Jordan: only scattered blocks among the grass mark the place where it once stood. Yet the place is much used as a camping ground[4] in consequence of the springs found there, and the nearness of the sacred river. Of the castle erected there by the crusaders only a few fragments remain.

The bridge still stands in tolerably good condition. Von Wildenbruch[5] endeavoured to follow the course of the Jordan down from it, but the roughness of the land affected his thermometer so unfavourably as to put it out of the question. Three-quarters of an hour below the bridge he came to a mill, in whose neighbourhood was a square fort dating back to the

[1] See also Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 254; and A. Petermann, *On the Fall of the Jordan*, in *Journ. of the Roy. Geog. Soc.* xviii. p. 90.

[2] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 316.

[3] Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 258.

[4] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 316; Bové, in *Bullet. l.c.* iii. p. 388.

[5] Wildenbruch, MS. communication; comp. De Bertou, *Mem. sur la depression*, in *Bulletin de la Soc. de Geog.* xii. p. 164.

times of the Crusades. He did not dare to bathe in the stream itself, which roars and foams through thickets of oleander on both sides, and which he calls appropriately a continuous cascade. He selected for his bath a mill-race three and a half feet deep, where the rapidity of the stream, although much less than in the current proper, was so great that he could scarcely stand without supporting himself by something.

Jacob's Bridge, with its three arches, is forty-five paces in length and thirty in width, is built of basaltic stone, and is in good condition, it having been repaired by Jezzar Pasha. The river beneath it has a breadth of eighty feet, and a depth seldom of four feet: it must have been a very dangerous place for a ford, if we accept the legend which connects it as such with the fortunes of the ancient patriarch. The plants and shrubs which abound on the shore at this point are mainly the oleander, here most thrifty and attractive, the cross-thorn (*Rhamnus spina Christi*), the wild small-leaved olive (the zakkum of the Arabs, *Eleagnus angustifolius*), and where there are marshy lands, the papyrus sedge (*Cyperus papyrus*) in uncommon size and abundance.

This bridge, Jissr Beni Yakub, *i.e.* the Bridge of the Sons (also Benat, *i.e.* the Daughters, a name which Robinson thinks the more correct one) of Jacob, in whose neighbourhood king Baldwin in 1178 erected a stronghold, in order that he might the better hold the country in check and command the Damascus road, does not seem to have been built at that time, for William of Tyre speaks expressly of the *Vadum Jacob, i.e.* the Ford of Jacob. The old legend was, that the patriarch, on his return from Mesopotamia, after sending messengers to his brother Esau, and dividing his company of followers into two parts, passed over the Jordan at this place (Gen. xxxii. 7, 8). But we know from the biblical narrative that Jacob took his course by way of Mahanaim and through Gilead—a country rich in pasturage for his numerous flocks and herds—while he himself (Gen. xxxii. 22) took his two wives, and the two maids, and the eleven children, and crossed the ford of Jabbok.[1] The Jabbok mentioned here is the Wadi Serka, much farther to the south, and an easterly tributary of the Jordan.[2] The ford is even

[1] Von Raumer, *Paläst.* p. 243.

[2] See Gesenius' ed. of Burckhardt, ii. p. 599, and Note to p. 1060;

now recognised at Kalaat Serka, on the regular Damascus road which runs through the country east of the Jordan. From that point Jacob passed along the lower course of the Jordan, and thence to Succoth and Shechem. The connection of the *Vadum Jacob* is therefore proved by no more authentic testimony than that of a legend, as baseless as the uncounted numbers with which the whole country swarms.

Jacotin's map gives the name of the bridge as Jiser Benat Yacub, *i.e.* the Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob. He derives this from Seetzen,[1] who thought that it might be possible to justify or to find some basis for the legend, by supposing that the other portion of Jacob's followers crossed the Jordan here, and that the fact perpetuated itself in the name of the spot. Through this ford, where subsequently, and at a date not now precisely known to us, the bridge was built, the great road from Damascus to the Sea of Galilee ran, passing thence to Akka, the chief port between Carmel and Tyre. It thus passed round Hermon and the Anti-Lebanon, while the direct road from Damascus to Sidon and Tyre must have always passed directly over the whole Lebanon range. The three avenues of communication alluded to in the preceding pages are the chief ones which connected the very ancient city of Damascus with northern, middle, and southern Canaan. It is the middle road which received in the middle ages the name *Via Maris*;[2] it was always the chief avenue between Syria and the great Phœnician cities. It is uncertain whether it received its name from the Mediterranean, or from the small Sea of Galilee, which it passed at the ancient city of Capernaum (Matt. iv. 13). There are good grounds[3] for receiving either interpretation. The physical character of the Jordan below that *Vadum Jacob* was unquestionably the controlling cause which opened this *via maris* leading from the land of culture, although of the Gentiles or heathen, to upper Palestine, Zebulon, and Naphtali; and this converted Capernaum into an important frontier city, and a chief custom-house station. Its officials,

comp. von Raumer, *Das östliche Pal. und Edom*, in *Annal. i.a.l.* vol. i. p. 553.

[1] Seetzen, in *Mon. Corr.* xviii. p. 345.

[2] Quaresmius, *Elucid. Terræ Sctæ.* T. i. lib. i. fol. 19.

[3] Gesenius, *Comment. zu Genesis*, Pt. i. pp. 350-354.

the publicans or collectors of custom, were the men from whom Jesus selected several of His disciples (Matt. ix. 9; Mark ii. 14; Luke v. 27). Isaiah also refers to the same locality, where he speaks (ix. 1 and following verses) of the nation that sits in darkness as destined to see a great light. Through these repeated allusions, this spot has become one of the classic places of the earth.

The historical importance of this Jacob's Bridge, in connection with the mercantile interests of Palestine at the present day, is not less than it was at the time of the Crusades. Modern times have converted it into an important military position, commanding as it does one of the great roads to Damascus.[1] It was the most advanced post which was taken possession of by Napoleon, but was left by Murat on the 2d of April 1799.

Seetzen did not follow the course of the Jordan any farther southward, as he was anxious to penetrate the hill country lying east of Lake Tiberias,—a region entirely unexplored.[2] He could find no one who would venture to act as his guide, such was the untamed rapacity of the Beduins in that quarter. At last, however, an Arab agreed to take him to his sheikh, who was troubled with some affection of his eyes. Seetzen, who was known as Sheikh Musa, and who also enjoyed the reputation of being a hakim, made use of subterfuge, and agreed to go into the interior for the purpose of curing the eyes of the Beduin chief. His course was at first along a range of basaltic hills east of the Jordan,—a wild and desolate-looking part of Jaulan, the ancient Gaulonitis. After two hours he reached the village where his guide lived; there he spent the night, and the next day took horse and ascended some hills which gave him a very fine view of Lake Tiberias. His course took him through the small village of Tellanihje[3] (more correctly et-Tell), lying on the margin of a very fruitful plain abounding in aloes. This plain reached to the lake, and had apparently been formed by deposits from the Jordan. Thence he turned away from the sea into the dry Wadi Szemmak, in which he found the ailing chief living. The case was a clear one of

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 441.

[2] Seetzen, *i.a.l.* xviii. pp. 346–348.

[3] For its position, see Seetzen's map.

cataract, and all cure was hopeless. Yet, in order to be able to visit the rest of the country east of the lake, Seetzen told the chief that he would undertake to help him if he would send a guide with him along the shores of the lake to collect a kind of herb which grew there, and which he would send back by the hand of the guide. This was acceded to, but the latter proved faithless, refused to take the right road, forded the Jordan near its confluence with the lake, robbed Seetzen of his horse and gun, and left him to find his way on foot along the already explored west bank of the river to the city of Tiberias. The place where he was deserted was in the neighbourhood of the ruined khan of Bat Szaida,[1] a place whose historical interest he failed to discover.

Josephus gives the distance from the Samochonitic Sea to Lake Gennesareth as a hundred and twenty stadia, *i.e.* a six hours' march; but Burckhardt learned that it is not over half that distance. He did not follow down the border of the stream farther than Jacob's Bridge, however, as his course led him westward to Safed. This part of the Jordan has therefore never been visited throughout,[2] and we lack any description of it, though it is to be inferred that it is a brawling and rapid stream, and passes between steep banks of limestone and basalt. Nothing is known of cascades excepting the rapids where von Wildenbruch was obliged to turn back on account of the difficulty of carrying his barometer, and where he essayed to bathe. Eli Smith explored the country for an hour's distance north of the entrance of the Jordan into the Sea of Galilee, and found no rough water there.

In the course of this little excursion he first reached the fertile plain el-Batiheh (alluded to by Burckhardt under the name of Battykha), which seemed to him a tract sometimes inundated by the rise of the river. It is hemmed in on the north and east by high hills; those on the north come close to the river, and confine it to a very narrow bed. The appearance of the fertile plain el-Batiheh was such, that Seetzen alluded to it as a delta formation of the Jordan, formed by the retarding action of the south wind in the downward course of the river at the time when its waters are heavily freighted with the mud which

[1] Seetzen, *Mon. Corresp.* xviii. p. 348.

[2] See Abulfedæ *Syriæ*, ed. Koehler, p. 447.

it brings down from the mountains. The river here is less broad than at the Dead Sea, and only about a third as wide as it is at Jericho—sixty to seventy-five feet: the water has an idle motion and a melancholy aspect as it creeps through the plain; in some places it can be waded, but in others it is too deep.

Mr Smith took advantage of a day when his companion Robinson was ill with fever, to visit the ruins of et-Tell (erroneously called Tellanije by Seetzen), which, situated on a hill not far away, attracted him strongly. His course led him through the ruined village of el-Aradj, whose houses were once built of basaltic stones. A little farther he encountered the remains of the village of el-Mes'adiyih; after this, of Dukah, a place which had been built on a more extensive scale, but of the same basaltic materials. He then crossed the plain el-Batiheh alluded to above, and observed carefully the fellahin called Ghawarineh,[1] or dwellers in the Ghor, and saw the same kind of buffaloes wallowing in the swampy ground which are so abundant in the marshes of el-Huleh. The plain is the property of the Turkish Government, and only a share of the harvest falls to the portion of the poor, insulted, and degraded peasants who till it; a race of men prohibited from wearing arms, and therefore at the entire mercy of the rapacious Arabs. They are a race whose position is analogous to that of the pariahs of India; they speak the Arabic language, but they are the especial object of detestation to the Arabs themselves. Eli Smith is the only traveller who has carefully observed them: he estimates their number at Zoar, at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, at two hundred, and those at Jericho and the plain of Batiheh at two hundred families and a hundred and fifty families respectively.

From this plain Smith directed his course northward to et-Tell, the most extensive of all the ruins in the neighbourhood, and which appears to have been the chief place in the neighbourhood, although it has entirely lost its old name, and is only used by the Ghawarineh as a place to store their grain. The ruins cover a large part of the hill (Tell), and are really extensive: they, as well as those which he had already seen in the vicinity, consisted of basaltic stone.

Seetzen, at the time of his visit, conjectured that this place

[1] Eli Smith, *Bands of the Ghawarineh*, in *Missionary Herald*, vol. xxxv. pp. 87-89.

was the ancient Bethsaida Julias, on the east side of the Jordan, in the province of Gaulonitis,—a place which had previously been confounded with another Bethsaida, on the west side, in Galilee. Reland first, and after him Bachiene, pointed out the incorrectness of confounding two places so different, and showed that there must have been two Bethsaidas, one on each side of the lake. Seetzen was the unconscious discoverer of them both, and entered them both in his map. The places remained unexplored, however, till the time when Robinson and Smith visited their neighbourhood.[1] Both places were in the immediate vicinity of the Sea of Galilee, although its waters do not touch them at the present day: they were both fishing-places; and the name Bethsaida itself gives token of the occupation of the inhabitants, Beth signifying "place," and Saida "fishing." From one of these two places Jesus chose fishermen to be His disciples, in the other He fed the multitude with bread and with fishes.

It is a well-established fact that Peter, Andrew, and Philip were from Bethsaida in Galilee. But had it not been for a decisive passage in Josephus, it would have been scarcely suspected that allusion is made, though without any particularization, in the gospel narrative to a second Bethsaida. Josephus tells us that Philip, the son of Herod, tetrarch of Ituræa, Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, and Batanea, and thus the ruler of the territory east of the Jordan (comp. Luke iii. 1), after completing the ornamentation of Paneas, converted Bethsaida, a mere hamlet by the sea, into a city, placed colonists in it, gave them rights and privileges, and called the place Julias in honour of Julia, the daughter of the Roman emperor. This Bethsaida cannot be rightly transferred to the west side of the sea, as Brocardus and others have done, because the tetrarchy of Philip did not extend thither; and just as little to be relied upon is the opinion of the learned Lightfoot, who thinks that the Bethsaida of Galilee mentioned in John xii. 21 is to be located on the east side of the sea, giving in explanation the statement that, in an enlarged sense, Galilee was sometimes made to embrace territory beyond the Jordan. Cellarius[2] thinks

[1] See also von Raumer, *Pal.* pp. 121–123, and Notes 20 and 21.

[2] Chr. Cellarius, *Notitia Orbis Antiqui*, Lips. 1706; *Asia*, lib. iii. c. 13, fol. 633.

that the question is one of the most difficult in the whole range of biblical geography: and it was so in his days, before the researches of modern travellers threw so much light upon it as they have done; but now it is nearly or quite certain that the writers of the gospel narratives refer to two different Bethsaidas, even although they do not specifically couple the name of the one which was in Gaulonitis with the additional name Julias, which it bore. Whatever doubt arises about the question in its present stage of investigation, springs from the fact that, regarding the Bethsaida of Galilee, we have only the evidence which is found in the permanence of the name itself as exhibited in the modern Bat Saida or Szaida, there being no ruins to mark the site of a former city. Yet no conclusive argument is to be drawn from the last fact; for the same is the case with many other well-known places of antiquity, whose architectural monuments have entirely passed away. Capernaum, Banias, Dan, the noble city of Tiberias, and a hundred others, have little or nothing to exhibit of their former splendour.

This argument may be applied still more forcibly to the ruins of Tell, on the eastern side. There are the traces of a large city, but every architectural decoration has passed away. Yet, aside from the allusion of Josephus to an important capital there, Pliny has not passed over it in silence, and speaks yet more definitely still of a city on the east side of the Jordan, and in that neighbourhood: "Jordanus in lacum se fundit—amœnis circumseptum oppidis, ab oriente, Juliade et Hippo," etc. So long as there was supposed to be but one Bethsaida, it was extremely difficult to harmonize various allusions to it; but when it was found to be almost beyond doubt that there were two, the task became a simple one. The eastern Bethsaida is mentioned only twice in the Gospels—in Luke ix. 10, and Mark viii. 22. It was the place where Jesus fed the five thousand at one time, the four thousand at another time, and restored the sight of the blind man. The western place of the same name is most prominently brought into notice as the original home of several of His disciples. It is evident, moreover, that the now deserted shores of the lake were in continual communication at that time by means of boats.

DISCURSION II.

THE SEA OF GALILEE OR GENNESARETH—CHINNERETH—THE SEA OF TIBERIAS—NAMES, SITUATION, NAVIGATION, ASPECT OF THE REGION ADJACENT—GEOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS—HOT AND COLD SPRINGS, SALT WATERS—EARTHQUAKES, WINDS, CLIMATE—NATURE OF THE VEGETATION ON THE COAST.

1. *Names.*

Chinnereth is the oldest name which this sea bears in the books of Moses (Num. xxxiv. 11, and Deut. iii. 17). Joshua seems to have taken the name (xii. 3) from a place of which we only know this, that it was on the shore of the lake (Josh. xix. 35). That, however, it occupied the same site which afterwards was covered with the city of Tiberias, which Herod built, and which, according to Jerome, bore the name of Chennereth, is destitute of historical proof; for the site of Tiberias belongs to the territory of Zebulon, while Chinnereth lay in the more northerly domain of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 35), which embraced only the northern half, the sea-coast. This is also clearly shown in the account of Benhadad's conquest of the land of Chinnereth (1 Kings xv. 20), where allusion can only be made to the shore of the northern half of the basin: the place mentioned there would seem to be an ancient city of Chinnereth, which subsequently disappeared, and whose situation cannot on any grounds be considered as identical with that of the more modern Tiberias. There are other grounds, too, for not accepting the identity of the two places.[1] These I shall allude to on a future page. The name Chinnereth, it may be remarked, is not used in reference to the sea in the Old Testament, excepting to designate the boundaries of some of the tribes. Far more common in the Bible is the mention of the Sea of Gennesareth, the origin of whose name is uncertain, although it is educed by Lightfoot from Chinnereth: transiit nomen Chinnereth in Genesor. The name is mentioned several times in the New Testament, although in some of the allusions not the sea alone is referred to, but a portion of the coast (see Matt. xiv. 34, and Mark vi. 53). This appears to indicate a small tract of the western shore about midway between

[1] Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterthk.* ii. Pt. ii. p. 76.

the northern and the southern extremities of the lake. Josephus gives the dimensions of this "land of Gennesareth" as only thirty stadia in length and twenty in breadth. Robinson supposes that the place corresponded with the modern fertile tract called el-Ghuweir, the little Ghor, which lies between Mejel at the south and the Khan Minyeh at the north. This is strengthened by the glowing description which Josephus gives[1] of the spot, coupled with the etymological meaning of the word Genesor, "garden of riches:" compare Lightfoot: "ab amœnitatem regionis, hortis ac paradisis refertissimæ." The name Genesera is the one most frequently applied to the lake by Josephus, Strabo, Pliny, and the Romans. The name Sea of Galilee, which appears in Matt. iv. 18, on whose waters the fishermen Peter and Andrew were casting their nets, was derived from its situation contiguous to Galilee, a province which did not extend to the eastern side of the lake. This name must have been a comparatively modern one,[2] since the name Galilee was originally applied merely to a small tract, in connection with which other districts like Kedesh and Naphtali were sometimes mentioned (see 2 Kings xv. 29). At the time of Solomon and Hiram, Galilee was still an unimportant district, and appeared to the latter to be, with its twenty cities, an insignificant gift to be made by Solomon in return for the cedars of Lebanon which had been carried to Jerusalem for the temple and the new palace. It was only with the extension of the meaning of the name Galilee under the Maccabees, when Zebulon and Naphtali were added to the original district, and the whole west coast was known as Galilee, that the lake itself could receive the same name. After the city of Tiberias became, at the time of Herod Antipas, the metropolis of Galilee, the name of this capital was used generally to distinguish the water on which it lay; and so we have, as in John xxi. 1, the Sea of Tiberias. This at length became the general designation of the lake, and was corrupted into Tabaria, which is the Arab name at the present day.

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 399–414.

[2] Gesenius, *Comment. zu Jesaias*, i. p. 350.

2. *Astronomical and Hypsometrical Situation, Extent, Depth, and Navigableness.*

At the sluggish entrance of the Jordan into Lake Tiberias there is no place of importance. Between Jacob's Bridge, which is eighty-four feet above the level of the sea, according to von Wildenbruch, and the surface of the Sea of Galilee, there is somewhere a point where the level of the river and that of the ocean are identical, but this place has never yet been ascertained. Symonds[1] estimates the surface of Lake Tiberias to be 328 feet below the level of the Mediterranean, von Wildenbruch 845 feet. The latitude of the northern extremity of the Sea of Galilee was fixed by Lieutenant Molyneux,[2] during his expedition to the Jordan in 1847, to be 32° 52½′ N. The heat at noon on the day when he took his observation, August 23, was 103° Fah. in the shade. He discovered, in the course of his exploration of the lake, that it is much broader as well as longer than it has been supposed by those who had been unable to sail upon it, and had been compelled to judge by the eye. He estimated it to be from eight to nine miles broad, and about eighteen long. It had always been supposed to be a lake of great depth: he found this to be a mistake, however, as the deepest place which he discovered only ranged from a hundred and twenty to a hundred and fifty-six feet.[3] Molyneux's examination of the Sea of Tiberias by means of a boat was one of the first attempts of the kind, and the little craft was carried from the Mediterranean,—an operation which in some places was attended with great difficulty. In modern times there seems to be no use of this lake for the purposes of navigation; and yet at the time of the Saviour it seems to have been much sailed upon, whole fleets being sometimes on its waters at once. When the forces of Titus besieged the city of Tiberias, large numbers of the people flocked into the boats: Vespasian caused

[1] Dr Petermann, in an article on the fall of the Jordan, in vol. xviii. *Jour. Lon. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, thinks it unquestionable, that accurate as are Symonds' general measurements, particularly those relating to the Dead Sea, some great and unexplained error vitiates his estimate of the depression of Lake Tiberias, and makes it altogether untrustworthy.—ED.

[2] Lieut. Molyneux, of H.M.S. "Spartan," *Expedition to the Jordan and the Dead Sea*, in *Journ. of the Roy. Geog. Soc.* xviii. p. 107.

[3] W. J. Hamilton, *Address to the Roy. Geog. Soc. of London*, 1848, p. 76.

other ones to be built in order to follow them; and a naval engagement ensued, in which as many seem to have perished at sea as had already on the land. Josephus gives the number of these as 6500. The fishing in the lake now seems to be carried on from the shore alone. In the last century, and early in this, a boat was seen by Pococke, Seetzen, and Burckhardt[1] on the waters of the lake, but at last it disappeared, and was mentioned no more. The only other traveller besides Molyneux who has ventured to explore Lake Tiberias by means of a boat, is Count de Bertou. The results of his observations are given on his own map, and in his report to the Geographical Society of Paris. Unfortunately we are unable to compare it with the results of Molyneux's expedition, since the untimely death of the officer in command, before he had time to work out what he had done into intelligible shape, has deprived us of many of the most valuable fruits of the English expedition.[2]

3. *The Picturesqueness of Lake Tiberias.*

As one approaches the lake from the west, the eastern side being inaccessible even at the present day in consequence of the unsettled state of the country, the first glimpse[3] which is gained of the basin of the Sea of Tiberias is from the summit of Tabor, whence its entire outline can be seen. The surface of the water is invisible, however; and even from the Hattin peaks, the Mount of the Beatitudes according to the legend, only the north-east corner can be descried,[4] although one would get the impression from the fanciful and hasty descriptions of travellers, even the most recent, that the whole lake can be seen in all its beauty from some of the adjacent heights. This is not true; but instead of this there are excellent opportunities of studying the high but evenly-levelled mountain ranges of Bashan and Gilead, as well as those of Jaulan and Hauran, which are seen towards the east and south. As

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 332. See Tristram, p. 428.

[2] I omit at this point the detailed result of De Bertou's measurement of the distances between the villages on the shores of Lake Tiberias: the original statement may be found in the *Bulletin de la Soc. de Geog. Paris*, 1839, xii. pp. 146-149.—Ed.

[3] Roberts, *The Holy Land*, vol. x. Plates 27, 28.

[4] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 355.

the traveller approaches the sea, the water long remains concealed, and does not come into view till the edge of the deep basin is reached, down which there is a descent of more than a thousand feet. The reasons for the great historical interest of the lake do not fail to strike even the most casual observer,[1] even although the landscape cannot be compared on the score of beauty with many others in the world. There are lacking in this regard, not mountains of height enough to be attractive, but those bold forms which are so striking in the eminences amid which the Swiss lakes nestle: there are also wanting the rich green meadows and the attractive forest trees which are found in the neighbourhood of the American, Scotch, English, and Bavarian lakes, with their mild beauty. Around Tiberias we have only bare rocks, some light-coloured, some black, a shore almost treeless, and whose grass even is withered, while the dark surface of the lake itself is unrelieved by a single white sail. And yet, despite all, the place exerts a charm upon every stranger who approaches it; for it is a holy place in the land both of promise and of fulfilment: it is the field of the early ministries of Jesus, the home of His disciples, often their place of refuge from their persecutors: its solitary places have often been hallowed by the words and deeds of the Saviour. And this gives to the landscape, despite its present desolate appearance, a peculiar and indestructible charm of its own,—a charm which reflects itself in the simple records of the Evangelists; as, for instance, in the allusions to the throwing of the nets into the sea, the abundant supplies of fish which the disciples brought to land, the scattered sheep, the sheep which follow the good shepherd, the only door to the fold, the lilies still found abundantly gracing the field, and many others which will recur to the reader.

But this lake must not be supposed to be destitute of its own real beauties too, particularly in the spring months, before the sun has power to wither the young growths. Seetzen tells us[2] that in all Palestine there is no district to compare with this in respect to natural beauty, — not now, indeed, what it was once, when art lent its kindly and powerful aid,

[1] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* p. 294; Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 380; Russegger, *Reise*, iii. p. 131; v. Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 231.

[2] Seetzen, in *Mon. Corresp.* xviii. p. 348.

and made the shores of Tiberias one of the gardens of the world. The present aspect of the spot—with its heaps of ruins, which attest the action of past earthquakes; the whole eastern shore a field where wild Beduins practise unchecked their arts of plundering; the western side a desolate waste, exhibiting here and there the hamlets of the few inhabitants who take the place of the once dense population—gives no clue to the appearance which Lake Tiberias bore at the time of its past glory.[1]

If we turn to the Tiberias of the past, we find that Josephus praises not only the beauty, but also the fertility, of the shores of the lake, as well as the mildness of the atmosphere there. All the forest trees throve there, little as we should think it now; and whatever was planted attained an excellent growth. Walnuts, he goes on to say, which generally love a cool climate, grew in profusion; and together with them the palm, which requires the intensest heat. Nor were there lacking figs, olives, and groves, which need a temperature intermediate between that demanded by the walnut and the palm. Josephus alludes again to the singular character which the shores of the Sea of Gennesaret have, of uniting productions which generally are not found to inhabit the same region, and says that this is only possible in a place sheltered by a system of ascending terraces. He asserts that European fruits were able to thrive there; and that such was the nature of the climate, that vines and figs would ripen ten months out of the year, while other fruits were to be always seen in a perfected state.

If there is a place in the world which answers the conditions which Hippocrates summed up in the expression, the "mingling of seasons," and which may be taken as the ideal of a perfect climate, it is that of the Sea of Galilee. It is the nearest possible approach to a perpetual spring. There is the same harmony in the natural world there which we sometimes meet in the characters of men—a perfect balance of parts. And so on the shores of Tiberias we have the finest fruit and the most perfect growths of all kinds: we have the conditions also which ought to give us the most admirably formed animals and the highest type of man. So long as men were expecting to find

[1] Von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 252.

a paradise on the earth, here was the place where there was the most encouragement to look for it. With all the change in the political and social relations of men, the physical character of the neighbourhood is not changed, excepting so far as has been occasioned by the neglect and the idleness of the inhabitants. The broad sheltering basin of the lake, with its terrace gradations, is particularly favourable to the growth of tropical productions; and even at the present day, the date palm, the citron, the pomegranate, the indigo[1] and rice[2] plant, and the sugar-cane,[3] are found there, although their culture is miserably neglected. The heights around, on the contrary, are visited by cool, refreshing breezes. The free draught of the south wind, up the direct course of the Ghor, as well as the protection which is afforded on the northern side against the cold winds of Asia, together with the moisture which is indirectly furnished by the snow-crowned peak of Hermon, which towers grandly in view,[4] cannot be overlooked in taking an estimate of the great advantages enjoyed by the sheltered basin of Lake Tiberias. Josephus alludes particularly to the number of excellent springs which are found in its neighbourhood, as a feature by no means to be overlooked. And in view of all these varied attractions, it may be safe to conjecture, that unimportant as are the benefits derived from this renowned lake at the present time, in the future its industrial value may again be equal to what it was when cities dotted both its shores, and a teeming population passed their life by its waters.

4. *Geological Characteristics, Volcanic Formations, Basalt Dykes.*

As we enter upon the discussion of the geological character of the basin which contains the Sea of Galilee, we see at a glance that it is simply one element of the Jordan valley and Dead Sea, which extends due north and south for a distance of sixty hours. This is the Ghor, or Sunken Valley of the Arabs, extending from Hasbeya to the Ælanitic Gulf as a continuous cleft—the deepest one that is known to us. Its many varieties of aspect, including those found in the Sinaitic Peninsula, do

[1] Seetzen, *i.a.l.* pp. 349, 350.

[2] Ali Bey, *Trav.* ii. p. 260; and Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 403.

[3] Bové, *Recit. l.c. Bulletin*, iii. p. 388. [4] Russegger, *Reise*, iii. p. 131.

not permit our seeing at once the unity which characterizes the long length of the Ghor, or recognising the volcanic nature of the result of convulsions which took place doubtless antecedent to human history.[1] That those convulsions took place, is well authenticated by the existence of large masses of volcanic rock which have broken through the superimposed crust. The frequent earthquakes which occur; the form of the basin of Gennesaret, which Russegger thinks crater-shaped (though certainly incorrectly, as Wilson has conclusively shown[2]); the hot springs on the border of the lake; the many caves scattered far and near; the constitution of the country east of the Jordan, in evident geological connection with the Ghor; the large deposits of naphtha in the valley of Hasbeya; the springs of the same and of hot water in the neighbourhood of, and even in, the Dead Sea; the lofty crystalline masses of the Sinaitic Peninsula, and the porphyritic dykes which are found near the southern extremity of this great cleft; all confirm the theory, that powerful volcanic forces have been at work there.

An important part in all this has been played, unquestionably, by the black basaltic rock, which increases in extent as we approach Lake Tiberias from the north and west, and which appears again in the neighbourhood of Damascus, on the east side of the Jordan, passes down through the Leja, Jaulan, and Hauran, to the Sheriat el Mandhur (Hieromax), and back again to the Sea of Tiberias. It thus forms a colossal basaltic triangle,[3] bearing the name of the Basaltic Trachonitis. The Sheriat el Mandhur breaks through it from east to west; and out of the depth of the cleft thus occasioned issue the boiling springs of Om Keis or Gadara,[4] which are similar to those found in the neighbourhood of Tiberias. Seetzen thinks that the small river just mentioned forms the southern boundary of the basaltic region.

In passing from Acre, first towards Mount Tabor, and then to Lake Tiberias by way of Hattin, Russegger[5] first encountered volcanic rocks on the banks of the Nahr Mechatta, or

[1] Russegger, *Reise*, iii. p. 134.
[2] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 151.
[3] K. v. Raumer, *Das östliche Paläst.* in *Annal.* 1830, i. pp. 554-561.
[4] Seetzen, *Mon. Corresp.* xviii. p. 353; Gesenius' Burckhardt, i. p. 424.
[5] Russegger, *Reise*, iii. pp. 258–261.

Kishon,—a vast basaltic dyke, which has forced its way through the limestone, retaining its characteristic black colour, blistered in appearance, and exhibiting zeolites here and there. A second dyke of the same nature, and no less massive, is found running from north to south, in the normal direction of the Ghor, as one leaves the plain of Esdraelon, and approaches the hills around Nazareth. The hills around the village, however, do not display traces of the volcanic stone; but they, in common with the whole Galilean mountain system, are composed of the same limestone which is found in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. But north of Nazareth, between Kefr Kana and the Sea of Tiberias, there is a reappearance of basalt dykes, on such a scale of greatness,[1] as to cause the belief that the convulsions which threw them to the surface will explain the curious contortions which the jurassic and dolomitic formations, met with all the way to the Gulf of Acre, exhibit. The graceful Tabor exhibits traces, too, of having undergone the pressure of subterranean forces, which have largely affected its appearance; and these are all the more apparent, when it is compared with the low mountain usually known as Little Hermon, which stands isolated on the eastern border of the Plain of Esdraelon. Tabor abounds with holes, which, according to Russegger, have generally a cave-like appearance, and are supposed to be caused by the emission of suppressed gases, when these have become so powerful as to force their way to the surface.[2]

In the fertile rolling upland called Ard el Hamma, about a thousand feet[3] above the level of the sea, and at the eastern base of Tabor, the rock is covered with soil, and very seldom is visible: the greater part, however, is strewn with fragments of basalt[4] and other kinds of rubble, much of it cinder-like, and some exhibiting zeolites. Near Kurun Hattin (*Mons beatitudinis*), and along the southern slope, there runs from west to east a valley whose surface is tolerably flat, and which slopes gently to the basin of Lake Tiberias: in it are found two cisterns and the ruins of a khan. The main road from Tabor

[1] Russegger, *Reise*, iii. p. 262.

[2] K. v. Raumer, *Dr. tertiare Kalkstein bei Paris und der Kalkstein des westl. Paläst.* in *Beiträgen* 1843, p. 65.

[3] Russegger, *Reise*, iii. p. 130.

[4] Russegger, *Reise: Das Profil.* Tab. vii. 2.

to Damascus runs through it,[1] leaving the city of Tiberias at the right. At the northern end of this valley basalt appears, forming an immense dyke nearly two and a half miles broad.[2] This runs down toward Lake Tiberias, and close by its border it towers up in the form of a knoll, the top of which is eight hundred feet above the level of the sea. This cannot be the result of any mass of molten matter flowing down, but rather the result of subterranean pressure, causing immense superincumbent masses to give way, and to allow the volcanic rock below to jet up and form its wedges and dykes, which still attest the terrible throes of nature. There are traces of these throughout the neighbourhood. North of the basalt, near the Hattin mountain, and close by the Safed hills, Russegger saw places where the jurassic rocks have cloven down to the level of the lake, by the violence of volcanic forces.

Directly below the mighty basalt knoll just alluded to, extends the crater-shaped basin of Lake Tiberias, surrounded by high mountains, only broken by the cleft through which the Jordan takes its way. The whole eastern side of the lake seemed to him to be a wall of limestone, behind which lay the plateau of Hauran. No professed geologist has examined the east side of the Sea of Galilee, and I am compelled to doubt whether Russegger's view of what was eight or nine miles at least from him, can be accepted as reliable evidence; for it not only conflicts with the general statements of travellers in Hauran, that basalt is found very largely there, but it will be remembered by the reader that Seetzen,[3] at the time of his hasty visit to the blind chief, recorded on a preceding page, speaks of the prevalence of a dark-brown basaltic stone on his ride.

The west shore, however, was thoroughly examined by Russegger, and was found to belong to the jurassic formation, excepting in the places alluded to, where basalt had been interjected in such vast dykes that they show how general the action of the ancient volcanic forces must have been. I cannot omit mentioning that in one of the valleys, running in a north-north-westerly direction from Lake Tiberias to a point on the

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 394.
[2] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 112.
[3] Seetzen, *Mon. Corresp.* xviii. p. 353.

south-west side of Safed, there is a depression three or four hundred feet in length and a hundred feet in breadth, with steep lava sides running down to a depth of forty feet. A little pool fills the bottom of it. It is supposed to be the crater of a now extinct volcano,[1] now known as Birket el Jish. It has been thought that at the time of the violent convulsions which once shook this region, this volcano may have been the centre.

The city of Tiberias, which is close by the lake,[2] stands upon the lower extremity of a great basaltic dyke, which, although by no means uniform in its appearance throughout its course, yet seems to have no other lack of uniformity than would be occasioned by the amount of resistance which it encountered at the time of its upheaval, and the varied rates of cooling which it experienced.

Von Schubert[3] found the shore of the lake composed of limestone of several formations—a large part of it chalk, however—and interspersed with the solid masses of basalt mentioned by Russegger and others. Out of this black basalt the walls of Tiberias are built, many of the houses, the most ancient structures in Tell Hum, and, in short, the larger part of the architectural remains which are met on the shores of the lake.

At the surface the basalt has usually crumbled into shapeless blocks, covered with a white, earthy, decomposed substance, resembling phonolithic stone. Where the shape of the original masses has been wholly lost owing to exposure, there results a rich dark earth which is extremely fertile. The hot salt and sulphur springs which gush up in those regions, and the frequent earthquakes which abound in the neighbourhood of the lake, attest the volcanic nature of the whole region. From a very early antiquity the hot springs of Tiberias have attracted attention to themselves. They lie south of the city, on the southern edge of the great basaltic dyke,[4] but they spring not from the basalt itself, but from the jurassic limestone and dolomite. This is yellowish-white in colour, and displays the shells clearly when it is quarried. Its strata extend from north-west to south-east, with an inclination of 15° towards the

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 423, 424.
[2] Russegger, *Reise*, iii. p. 260.
[3] Von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 237.
[4] Russegger, *Reise*, iii. p. 261.

south-west. In the gorges which sink to the level of the lake, basalt is everywhere found, unquestionably forming side branches of the main dyke, and creating a network of great complexity and extent.

5. *The Hot Salt Springs of Tiberias.*

These springs, which have been noticed from a very early period, lie about a mile south of the city. Josephus often mentions them under the names of Emmaus and Ammaus, probably a Greek form of the Hebrew *Hammath*, *i.e.* warm baths: the Arabic word *Hammam*, by which they are now generally known, is a corruption of the Hebrew. Seetzen[1] thinks that if these springs were in Europe, they would form one of the most attractive bathing-places in the world. Burckhardt found a bathing-house erected over the one nearest to the city, and furnished with two apartments. The spring which is used is the largest of the four hot ones, and the supply of water is great enough even to turn the wheels of mills![2] The three other hot springs, or really four, if one counts two smaller ones lying side by side, are two hundred steps farther south; and the most southern one, which is so shallow that the hand can scarcely be dipped into it, is the hottest of all. These baths are much resorted to by people afflicted with rheumatism, scurvy, and leprosy, from many parts of Palestine and Syria.

Von Schubert found[3] the hot springs to have a temperature of 48° Reaum., and to contain salt and a solution of iron. He compares the waters with those of Carlsbad: at the bottom he observed sulphur and lime globules, coloured red with the oxide of iron. Not merely the warmth of the springs themselves seemed to be favourable to the persons afflicted with palsy, who use their waters, but the warmth of the nights there also seems beneficial. There prevails around Tiberias a true hothouse climate, and the palm flourishes there as well as in Akaba and Alexandria. On the north side of the city of Tiberias also, at Szermadin, there is a warm brook of about twenty degrees Reaumur,[4] which rushes forth from a cavernous outlet in the rock, and whose waters taste of salt and iron.

[1] Seetzen, *Mon. Corresp.* xviii. p. 349.
[2] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 329.
[3] Von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 239.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 245.

Its banks are abundantly overshadowed with the beautiful evergreen oleander with its rose-like blossoms, a true delight to the eyes, recalling the expression in Ps. i. 3, "A tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season." Still farther north there are found copious warm springs issuing[1] from the basalt rocks, and forming brooks of considerable size, that dash down the steep declivity leading to the sea. The great number of these springs, and the abundant supplies of water which issue from them in a region very scantily supplied with springs of fresh water,[2] hint very strongly at volcanic activities once at work there, to which they probably owe their existence.

The Hammam at Tiberias are the best known of all on the shores of the lake, although the hot springs at Om Keis, in the neighbourhood of Gadara, which were visited by Burckhardt and Buckingham, are no less remarkable in respect to size. According to Russegger's observations, the springs south of the city of Tiberias issue from ground which has been formed by a combination of basalt and limestone rubble; and although forming several little rivulets of water, yet the various indications made it certain to his mind that one parent supply is the source of all. About the year 1833,[3] Ibrahim Pasha built an elegant bath-house, furnished with a marble basin, and adorned in the luxuriant manner of European establishments of the same kind. At that time the water of the chief spring was conducted to this bath-house by an artificial canal three hundred paces long. As the water bursts forth to a height of two or three feet, Russegger thought it probable that the real source might be in the mountains lying directly behind the baths. In the course of time there have been probably many changes in the number and size of the springs: these it is impossible to ascertain. I cannot forbear, however, alluding to the statement of Isthakri[4] (middle of the tenth century), that the springs issue from the ground at the distance of two parasangs from the city, and that the water was so hot that a hide thrown into it would very soon lose its hair. He remarks, moreover, that for culinary purposes the water can only be

[1] Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 251. [2] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 332.
[3] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 127; Tristram, p. 428.
[4] Isthakri, *Buch der Länder*, pp. 35, 36; Edrisi, Jaubert's ed. i. p. 347.

used by mixing with that from common springs: the people of Tiberias usually take theirs from the lake. In the twelfth century the springs appear to have yielded more profusely than they have since. Edrisi gives the names of four which were used as baths; he says, besides, that there were other ones farther south which were much resorted to by the sick.

The water of the main spring Russegger found clear, with a strong salt taste, and a very perceptible smell of sulphuric acid. The temperature he found to be 46° Reaum. when that of the air was $11\frac{1}{2}°$: it was scalding hot, and could be used for bathing only after cooling. An analysis of the water gave him as bases, nitre, talc, lime, and potash: as acids, free sulphurous, hydrochloric, and sulphuric. Thick deposits he did not perceive, only a slight sediment: Robinson discovered red and green discoloration of the glass in which he allowed it to stand and settle. Von Schubert found the heat to be 48°; Robinson, who was there only a short time thereafter, records that it ranged from 48° to $49\frac{3}{4}°$, a trifling amount higher than it was in the winter when Russegger examined the temperature. At the time of the great earthquake of 1837, it was found that not only was the heat of the water much increased, but the amount of water was very much enlarged,—a fact which seemed to hint not at all obscurely at a connection between the springs and the volcanic activities which were displayed then on so extensive a scale. Lieut. Molyneux,[1] who examined the springs in Aug. 1847, found the temperature to be 130° Fahr.,[2] or about 44° R. Earlier measurements of the thermal state of the springs are not known to have been made.

6. *The Earthquake of* 1837.

The British consul at Beirut, Mr Moore, states,[3] in his report to the Royal Geographical Society regarding the earthquake which was felt in 1837 in Beirut, Cyprus, Damascus, and the country to the south, extending as far as Jerusalem,[4] that the

[1] Molyneux, *Exped.* in *Jour. of Roy. Geog. Soc. of London*, xviii. p. 107.

[2] Lieut. Lynch, of the American expedition, found the heat of the springs in April 1848 to be 143° Fahr.—ED.

[3] Moore, in *Jour. of the Roy. Geog. Soc.* vii. p. 101.

[4] Thomson, *Journal of a Visit to Safet and Tiberias, Jan.* 1837, in *Missionary Herald*, vol. xxxiii. pp. 433–442.

city of Tiberias suffered much more from the upheaval than did the region in which the hot springs are found: the subterranean channels which convey the water to the surface seemed to act as the natural conductors of the pent-up gases, and prevent the effects of their explosion. Though Tiberias did not suffer so seriously as Safed, yet it was left little better than a heap of ruins, and a thousand people—a third of the inhabitants—perished. For weeks after the chief convulsion, tremblings of the ground were experienced. The heat of the warm springs increased to such an extent at the time, that the thermometers which could be obtained were inadequate to record it; and not only was the temperature higher, but the supply of water poured forth was greater than it had been for years before. While the rivers in other parts of Palestine and Syria—that at Beirut, for instance—forsook their beds, and left them dry for hours, the supply poured into the Sea of Tiberias from the hot springs was so largely increased, that, according to some accounts,[1] the lake was sensibly raised above its ordinary level. There were rumours[2] also that flames were seen breaking out in various places in Hauran and Jolan. These, however, lack confirmation.

A statement made to Reland by persons who had returned to Europe from Palestine, shows that just an opposite effect has been produced upon the springs by previous earthquakes, and that the Tiberias springs have been closed for a considerable length of time. About 1710 they yielded no water for at least three years: it may have been a longer time, for there is no evidence to show at what period they began to flow again.

The extent of territory affected by the great earthquake of 1837 extended from north to south, and was about five hundred miles in length, and about ninety in breadth. There is no authentic information received regarding its manifestation on the east side of the Jordan.

7. *Water, Wind, Climate, and Vegetation.*

Regarding the lake itself, full accounts are yet wanting; yet from what can be learned, in addition to the measurements already referred to, it becomes shallow towards the southern

[1] Calman, in Kitto, *Phys. Hist. of Pal.* p. xcii.

[2] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 129.

extremity. Molyneux gives the depth near the outlet as eighty-four feet: at the south-east corner, near Semak, Burckhardt[1] was able by swimming to form some conjecture as to the depth; at any rate, he encountered none of the reeds and sedge which make really shallow places.[2] The water of the lake is sweet, and supplies a great part of the city with that which is needed for culinary purposes, there being no fresh-water springs in the neighbourhood. Both Burckhardt and von Schubert[3] found fresh-water snails on the shore, as well as the other kinds of shell-fish which they met on the lower Jordan. The former traveller was unable to find any fishes at the southern end of the lake, where once the town of Tarichæa[4] lay, which derived its name from the curing of fish there; but at the northern end he found an abundance, particularly of carps (binni), and a kind of flat fish (mesht), a foot long and five inches broad. At the time of his visit the right of fishing in the lake was hired out by the people of Tiberias for seven hundred piastres, but the boat[5] which the fishermen had used was then unfit for use. Otto von Richter[6] saw men standing up to their waists in water, and catching fish in hand-nets; they seemed to him to be no less successful in their labour than the fishermen of a remote antiquity were. Robinson praises the fine-flavoured fish of the lake, the silurus, mugil, and sparus galilæus of Hasselquist. Von Schubert confirms the statement of Josephus, that in the Sea of Tiberias are found the same kinds of fish which are met in the Egyptian *Lacus Mareotis* near Alexandria, and hence calls the Sea of Galilee the source of the Nile. Wilson declares that the fish of Lake Tiberias are excellent: he mentions the cyprinus bennii, the mesht (which he thinks was the sparus galilæus of Hasselquist), the mormyrus, which, according to Sir Gardiner Wilkinson,[7] is a native of Egypt, and the oxyrinchus of the ancients. Wilson also speaks of seeing water-fowls upon the lake, among them pelicans.

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 276. [2] *Ibid.* p. 332.
[3] Von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 238; Tristram, pp. 428, 437.
[4] Seetzen, *Mon. Corresp.* xviii. p. 350.
[5] Burckhardt, Gesenius' ed. i. p. 433, ii. p. 576.
[6] Otto von Richter, *Wallfahrten*, p. 60.
[7] Wilkinson, *Manners of the Anc. Egypt.* vol. iii. p. 58.

With regard to the statement of Clarke and others,[1] that the waters of the Jordan pass through the sea from one end to the other without mingling with those of the lake, Robinson and other modern travellers have been able to ascertain nothing confirmatory: it is probably an error occasioned in great part by an expression of Josephus, and strengthened by Willibold, as well as by the learned Pausanias. Some of the Jewish rabbis, too—Jichus ha Abot, for instance—have claimed to be able to trace the course of the river through the lake; and even Irby and Mangles say[2] that at certain places the surface of the water is seen to be disturbed by the onward motion of the river. It may be that this is a matter which is more or less affected by changes in the amount of water, and by other varying circumstances, and cannot be reduced to any general statement.

Burckhardt states[3] that the level of Lake Tiberias is sometimes raised three or four feet during the rainy season,—a phenomenon perfectly intelligible in view of the many brooks which flow into it. Turner goes so far as to assert, that at the time of the heavy rains many houses are in part under water. The confined inland situation of the lake exposes it to the most violent winds and storms (Matt. viii. 23; John vi. 18); and this has caused a very boisterous character to be ascribed to it. Russegger[4] witnessed a tempest sweep over the sea about the last of December, dashing waves against the shore with great violence; and yet on the land scarcely a breath of wind was to be felt. Five hundred feet higher, on the western bank, a very severe cold wind was experienced, coming from the distant Hauran plateau, which was then covered with snow. Russegger suspected that the wind struck the surface of the lake at such an angle as to be reflected again and glance off, striking the shore high up the slope of the basin, and literally leaving the city of Tiberias beneath the motion of the atmospheric current. A more protracted stay than travellers usually make would throw much light upon this phenomenon.

Turner,[5] while bathing near the north gate of Tiberias, discovered that in one place the water rose to the height of 86° Fahr. (24° R.): elsewhere the temperature was much cooler.

[1] Russegger, *Reise*, iii. p. 132. [2] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* p. 295.
[3] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 332; W. Turner, *Journal*, ii. p. 142.
[4] Russegger, *Reise*, iii. p. 136. [5] Turner, *Journ.* ii. pp. 141, 144.

The inference was natural, that beneath the spot where he was swimming there are powerful hot springs. A burning sirocco was blowing from the south at the same time,—a wind which in the nights often causes great storms upon the lake. In the month of August, Lieut. Molyneux experienced at noon a heat of 103° Fahr. in the shade. During the summer these south winds are very common: they parch all the vegetation, and cause it to ignite at the touch of a single spark. When this occurs, the wind, overdriving the flames far and wide, effects a great deal of damage. Burckhardt tells us[1] that it is the custom of the land, if such a conflagration result from the falling of a single spark from a tobacco-pipe, to put the smoker to instant death. Gesenius[2] calls attention to the fine commentary these accidental burnings give to some passages; in Isa. v. 24, for example, "Therefore, as the fire devoureth the stubble, and the flame consumeth the chaff," etc. In the spring-time there is nothing of this arid aspect to be seen, and the whole district is one mass of leaves and blossoms.

The hot south winds, and the terraces which surround the lake, must have a great influence upon the whole course of vegetation, and must occasion the marked contrasts which are exhibited there in the various seasons. The west winds which prevail in Syria during the summer[3] are not able to strike the deep-lying west coast of Lake Tiberias: the situation of the city is therefore far from healthy, and fevers abound. The high plateau region in the neighbourhood, which is covered with snow in the winter, as well as the eternally snow-capped Lebanon not far away, cannot exert in their turn a less marked influence upon the vegetation of the shores of the lake than the hot south wind does. Von Schubert remarks[4] that the flora of the highest part of the basin around the lake is precisely that of Nazareth and the base of the Carmel range, while those which grow at the lowest part are the same as those which are found at Jericho. Burckhardt thought the heat at Tiberias equal to that experienced at the Dead Sea. This explains the ancient praises of the palms and the balsam shrubs which used

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 331.
[2] Gesenius, Notes to Burckhardt, ii. p. 1056.
[3] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 320.
[4] Von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 232.

to be found in both localities; but although palms are still found growing in the neighbourhood of Tiberias,[1] von Schubert was unable to discover any trace of the balsam. Strabo's allusion[2] to *βάλσαμον*, on the shores of Gennesaret, seems to arise from a hasty confounding of the place with Jericho. Still it is evident, as Cotovicus has shown,[3] that many plants which once throve on the shores of the lake are found there no longer. The narrow plains along the shore, remarks Burckhardt, would be able to produce every kind of tropical fruit; yet the inhabitants of Tiberias content themselves with raising wheat, barley, dhurra, tobacco, melons, grapes, and some kinds of garden vegetables. The melons[4] are of the finest quality, and are in much demand in Acre and in Damascus, being supplied a month before those raised in the vicinity of those places come into the market.

The winters in Tiberias must be somewhat more severe than in Jericho, for snow is sometimes, though very rarely, met there: at the time of Robinson's visit, the wheat harvest was ended on the 14th of May at the latter place, while at Tiberias the last was not housed before the 19th of June. Sesam, cotton, and indigo are to a certain extent raised[5] upon the borders of the lake.

DISCURSION III.

THE SHORES OF THE SEA OF GALILEE.

I. *The Galilean or west and north-west side of the Lake.*

The present desolate aspect of the country around the Sea of Tiberias is in the most marked contrast with the great prosperity which was exhibited there at a former day, when the cities which only exist at present as shattered and crumbling ruins were thronged with a busy population. Only the western shore of the lake is trodden by civilised men to-day, and the

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 323; von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 235.
[2] Gesenius, Notes to Burckhardt, Pt. ii. Note to p. 105.
[3] Cotovicus, *Itinerar.* ed. Antw. 1619, p. 358.
[4] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 322. See Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 388.
[5] Abulfedæ *Tabul. Syr.* ed. Kochler, p. 35.

only two places even there which are at all important are Safed and Tiberias. The wild tracts of Jolan or Gaulonitis, east of the lake, and the savage land of the Gadarenes north of the Sheriat el Mandhur, with the ancient cities of Gadara, Hippos, and Gamala, whose ruins may be seen on the summits of the distant hill-tops, have never been visited by any Europeans with the exception of Seetzen and Burckhardt, and even they were able to catch only stolen glimpses of the unsubdued and inhospitable region. No one has ever been able to pass around the lake, as Seetzen wished to do; and all we know of the population there is gathered from the few observations of Seetzen and Burckhardt, taken under exceedingly unfavourable circumstances.

On the west coast of the lake and in the adjacent valleys there are several walls, springs walled up, caves, graves, and other tokens of former habitation: these are in many instances surrounded by fortresses, some of which appear to date back to a very remote period, others not further back than the time of the Saracens. These have never, however, been carefully studied: we only know them from the casual allusions to them by hasty travellers.

The western coast was once inhabited by the Galilean mountaineers, from whom many of the apostles were selected (Acts i. 11, ii. 7),—an active, remarkable people, despised by the Jews, but honoured by the Saviour, and made the medium of diffusing the gospel among the Jews as well as the Gentiles. Josephus, the rigid Pharisee, praises the Galileans on the score of their extraordinary industry, their agricultural skill, their thrift in business, and the valour which they always displayed. The sea-coast was strewn with cities and villages, and the population must have been an exceedingly dense one, else Josephus would not have been able to say that it would have been an easy thing for him to raise up an army of a hundred thousand volunteers for the defence of Galilee against the Romans. Some of their towns contained 15,000 inhabitants each. Not the tenth part of this number could be called together at the present day. The east side of the lake, on the other hand, seems always to have been inhabited by restless, unsettled tribes, unable, as Josephus says, to live in peace: their fixed abodes were upon the tops of hills, and some of their ruins may be seen at the

present time,—as, for instance, those of Gamala, Hippos, and Gadara.

Although, in comparatively modern times, Tiberias has become the chief place in Galilee, in Josephus' day Sephoris was the most important place; and the mountain district known by the name of Galilee seems to have been more inland than the tracts belonging to Naphtali and Zebulon, extending from the springs of the Jordan to the outlet of the Sea of Chinnereth. This district only subsequently became a part of Galilee.

A proof of this Gesenius[1] finds in the primitive application of the name Galilee to a region very unimportant in size in comparison with that which the province of Galilee subsequently became: see the allusion to it in the times of Solomon and Hiram, in 1 Kings ix. 11 and 2 Kings xv. 29, where it can only mean a limited tract of Naphtali. This is yet more plainly seen in Josh. xx. 7, "Kedesh in Galilee, in Mount Naphtali;" and this expression, Kedesh in Galilee, is one of very frequent occurrence (Josh. xxi. 32; 1 Chron. vi. 76). Rosenmüller's claim,[2] that the words "in Galilee" are annexed merely to distinguish it from another Kedesh, seems superfluous, since the expression "in Naphtali" would have been sufficient to distinguish it from the Kedesh in Judah and that in Issachar. It may be set down as tolerably certain, that the Kedesh whose position we have already fixed on the north-west side of the waters of Merom, was a central spot in the ancient province of Galilee, at a period when the shores of the subsequent Sea of Galilee could not strictly bear that name. The word has been supposed to be derived from the Hebrew Galil or Galilah, which originally signifies a circle, and which could naturally be applied to a region whose proportions were continually expanding. And here we find the first clue to explain the scorn which was universally displayed toward Galileans, and which appears in the New Testament as exercising a decided influence upon the Israelites in their relations to the Teacher of Nazareth (Matt. xxvi. 69; Luke xxiii. 6); the scorn to which Isaiah alludes as to be taken away when Galilee should attain her promised glory (Isa. ix. 1, 2), "Nevertheless, the dimness shall not be such as was in her vexation, when at the first He lightly afflicted the

[1] Gesenius, *Commentar zu Isaias*, i. p. 350 et seq.

[2] Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterthk.* ii. p. 42.

land of Zebulon, and the land of Naphtali, and afterward did more grievously afflict her by the way of the sea, beyond [this side of: Luther's Germ. trans.] Jordan, in Galilee of the nations. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light; they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined." The ignominy which rested upon Galilee was occasioned by the fact that, in spite of the bravery of the people of Naphtali and Zebulon, they had, from the very time when their territory was apportioned to them, been willing to receive the Gentiles or heathen among themselves. They remained in closer alliance with their idolatrous neighbours than any of the other tribes. Of Zebulon the prophecy had been spoken, "He shall dwell at the haven of the sea; and he shall be for a haven of ships; and his borders shall be unto Sidon." This implied industrial and commercial occupations which were foreign to the genius of the Hebrew policy, and led first to the transfer of twenty Galilean cities by Solomon to Hiram king of Tyre (1 Kings ix. 11); and subsequently to idolatry in Dan, at the head waters of the Jordan, on Hermon, and in other parts of the mountain land. The marriage of the Israelites with the daughters of the heathen followed as a matter of course; and this unrighteous connection, together with the idolatrous worship, was the occasion of the scorn expressed by Isaiah, as well as by Matt. iv. 15, in those words, "Galilee of the Gentiles," which had become current. The ill repute in which the Galileans stood may have been increased by the misfortunes endured at the hands of Benhadad and Tiglath-Pileser, as well as by the coarse Syrian dialect, and the strong guttural[1] accent of the mountaineers, and many other things which throw light upon the question put by Nathanael to Jesus, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" (John i. 46, vii. 52.)

1. *The City of Tiberias, the Tabaria of the present time.*[2]

It was only in the time of Herod I. that Roman luxury was introduced into that part of northern Palestine which extends from the Sea of Tiberias, the Banias spring of the Jordan.

[1] Winer, *Bib. Realw.* i. p. 388.

[2] H. Reland, *Pal.* pp. 1036–1042; Rosenmüller, *Bib. Alterthk.* ii. p. 74; v. Raumer, *Paläst.* p. 138.

Herod II., generally known as Antipas, the builder of Sephoris and Betharamphtha Julias, and the brother of Philip, to whose munificence Cæsarea Philippi and Bethsaida Julias owed their erection, was the founder of the city of Tiberias, whose name was derived from the well-known Roman emperor and patron of Herod. He preferred the sea-side to any other place of residence, and surrounded the palace which he built there with dwellings for his court, with amphitheatres, bath-houses, and temples. Josephus tells us, that in order to make room for all his buildings, he was obliged to remove several graves which occupied the spot which pleased his fancy. Here he put up costly works of art, some of which in their ruin Burckhardt thought[1] he recognised, among them a bas-relief of a lion strangling sheep; but Scholtz regards this rather as Phœnician workmanship. More recent investigation still shows that this is modern; and Mr Banks, at the time of his visit, while carefully examining the relic referred to by Burckhardt, discovered an Arabic inscription, leaving no room to believe that such a work left by Herod has survived the lapse of time. The changes effected by Herod were doubly distasteful to the orthodox Jews, as it was entirely against their traditions for any one to build upon the graves of the dead. So, in the early days of Tiberias, there were but few Jews who settled there: Herod was driven to the expedient of compelling Galileans to be his builders; Gentile colonists were induced by liberal gifts to settle in the new city; the place grew rapidly, and at the time of the Saviour had become very flourishing.

It is not probable that any older place occupied the site of Tiberias, for the reason just referred to, namely, that the Jews always placed their graves just outside of the city or town where they lived; but this affords ground for supposing that there may have been a place of some importance in the immediate neighbourhood.[2] The Talmud speaks of a Rakkath near by, and identifies this with the ancient Hammath. It has also been supposed to be the same as the Chinnereth referred to in Josh. xix. 35.

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 321.

[2] See also Jichus ha Abot, in Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, pp. 385, 446; also Burckhardt, Gesenius' ed. ii. p. 574; and Herbelot, *Bib. Orient. s.v. Lokman;* Gunther Wahl, *Koran*, p. 383.

In the Gospels there is no allusion to any visit of the Saviour to the city where His most formidable opponent lived. After Herod had caused John the Baptist to be beheaded (Matt. xiv. 1–22), Jesus withdrew to the east side of the sea, and amid the solitudes there He fed the great multitude who went out to see Him, supplying the wants of five thousand at once. Afterwards He returned (13th and 14th verses) to Gennesaret, on the western side of the lake. The beastly excesses and the vices of the Roman court had been transferred to this rankly growing capital of the weak and yet cruel princes of Galilee. Tiberias remained the metropolis of that province till the Emperor Nero placed Agrippa II. over Galilee, when Sephoris became the capital. Always in quarrels with the parent city of Jerusalem, the inhabitants surrendered voluntarily to Vespasian, and their city was spared. It became in the time of the great Jewish afflictions a refuge for the rabbis. The great tribunal of the Sanhedrim was transferred to Tiberias, after having held its sessions for a while in Sephoris. Thirteen synagogues subsequently arose in Tiberias; and in the beginning of the third century a school of Jewish legal lore was established,[1] which afterwards attained to great celebrity, and became the centre of those who clung to the literal traditions of the Jewish faith. This city became, in consequence of the founding of the Talmudic school, the place where the Hebrew language was spoken in its purity; and Jerome speaks with a certain degree of complacency of the advantage which he had enjoyed in learning Hebrew of a rabbi of Tiberias.

In the fourth century, Constantine the Great built the first Christian church which had ever been known in that city, and named it after St Peter, in allusion to his former residence on the shores of the lake close by. The builder of it, who was a baptized Jew, is said to have taken the materials for the church from an unfinished temple, the Adrianum, which had been used as a bath. Justinian, with his love of magnificence, surrounded the city with massive walls; in the year 449 it became the seat of a bishopric, but this was subsequently included within the see of Nazareth. The city was sacked by the Caliph Omar in the seventh century, and subsequently by Saladin[2] in the thirteenth,

[1] J. Lightfooti *Opp. omn.* Roteod. fol. 1686, vol. ii. fol. 223–230.

[2] Abulfedæ *Tab. Syr.* ed. Koehler, p. 84.

when it was much injured. It began then to pass into a state of ruin; its palaces, churches, synagogues, did not again resume their old splendour, and the ravages of earthquakes only completed the desolation. From that time Safed enjoyed the pre-eminence which till then had been the possession of Tiberias alone.

The ancient city seems to have extended at the time of Josephus as far along the shore of the lake southward[1] as to the hot springs, and the ruins which are seen at the present day confirm the account. The modern city is about a mile distant from the baths, and is built of the fragments of the ancient one. The numerous blocks of stone, many of them of Egyptian syenite, of granite, and of marble, which strew the ground, particularly in the neighbourhood of the hot springs, are in the strongest contrast with the poverty and squalor of the present town, whose walls were twenty feet high at the time of Burckhardt's visit, but which have been so shattered by the earthquake of 1837 that they are not longer of any avail against the attacks[2] of the Beduins; and the garrison which defends the city is compelled to put up its tents outside, and encamp there. Burckhardt, Turner, and Scholtz have each spoken[3] fully of the condition of the city and of its inhabitants (particularly of the Jewish portion) at the time of their visit, and I need only refer to their statements. Wilson,[4] describing his visit in 1843, speaks fully of the state of the city after the great earthquake had done its work. Of the population which Burckhardt found in Tiberias, about four thousand souls, only the half were there at the time of Robinson's visit. The part of the city which had been destroyed was not restored; the place was wholly open on the lake side, and not a trace could be found of the formerly jealously closed Jewish quarter. At the northern extremity, Burckhardt, as well as Irby and Mangles,[5] discovered the remains of a very ancient portion of the city lying high above the lake, and its walls were profusely

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 329; Scholtz, *Reise in Pal.* 1822, pp. 157, 248.

[2] Wilson, *The Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 112.

[3] Burckhardt, *Trav.* pp. 320–331; W. Turner, *Journal, etc.*, ii. pp. 140–144; Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 380–386.

[4] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 113.

[5] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* pp. 293–296; Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 329.

adorned with columns of the most beautiful red granite, supposed to be Egyptian in its origin. On some of the threshing-floors near by, Robinson discovered shafts of polished syenite, three feet in diameter.[1] Russegger discovered a portion of the old church of St Peter standing near the lake, and took up his lodgings for the night in the confessional, only eight feet above the surface of the water. The filth,[2] the miasma arising from the soil, the vermin bred in the sultry atmosphere, have caused it to pass into a proverb, that "the king of the fleas holds his court at Tiberias." This Wilson found only too true; and while excavating one of the arches of the Jewish synagogue, he plucked these vermin off his clothes in handfuls: the walls were literally red with them. The Arabs content themselves in their misery by saying[3] that it is "the curse of Allah."

Formerly Tiberias, with a dozen of the adjacent villages, formed a district of the pashalic of Acre, and the Jews paid a yearly tribute of three thousand five hundred piastres for the protection which they enjoyed. The garrison[4] did not consist, as at Safed, of Mogrebin from Africa, but of men from Affghanistan and Cashmere.[5] In consequence of the large immigration during the past century of Spanish Jews called Sephardim, and whose language is still that which they brought with them, as well as by the settlement of numerous Polish and German Jews, called Ashkenazim, who came from various parts of Syria and the Levant, there are to be seen many grey beards in Tiberias as well as in Jerusalem, Hebron, and Safed, the four sacred cities in one of which they hope to die, and by their dying to avert the impending vengeance which otherwise awaits the world. This delusion[6] has been made general in consequence in part of the incorrect interpretation of Deut. xxxii. 43, "Rejoice, O ye nations, with His people; for He will avenge the blood of His servants, and will render vengeance to His adversaries, and will be merciful unto His land and to His people,"

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 385.

[2] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 320; Turner, *Journ., etc.*, ii. p. 142; Irby and Mangles, p. 294.

[3] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* p. 292.

[4] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 320.

[5] W. Turner, *Journ., etc.*, ii. p. 142.

[6] Asher, *Benjamin von Tudela*, ii. p. 93.

which is interpreted as if the country could make good the sins of its people, and as if they who were buried in Palestine would not be called to a future account. It is this delusion which brings so many every year to lay their bones in the ground which is endued with such saving virtues. And Tiberias has, in spite of all its misfortunes, been a favourite resort of the Jews who came to the Holy Land; and the Jewish population has experienced also more lenity at the hands of the Turks, than that of Damascus and some other cities. The Jews carry on less trade, and are less proficient in industrial pursuits, than elsewhere: they spend the most of their time in Hebrew studies, and in religious contemplations. In the libraries Scholtz found manuscripts of the fifth century, and Hebrew and rabbinical books from European presses in Amsterdam, Lisbon, Italy, Germany, and Constantinople.[1] Among the evils to which they are exposed, not the least is the plague, which is not a stranger in Tiberias. It will be a question which only the future can solve, whether this city shall ever rise again from the low condition into which it has sunk. But the long-cherished delusion, that the Messiah will make His appearance at Tiberias, is one which is so confidently maintained, that many foolish devotees will yet be persuaded thither. The Scripture passage which is pleaded in favour of this opinion is Isa. ix. 2, "The people that sat in darkness have seen a great light," etc.: they who repeat it have no conception that the fulfilment of the prophecy has already come, and was referred to by John the Baptist in Matt. iii. 12–14.

At the time of Wilson's[2] visit (1843) there was a population of about 2000 inhabitants, of whom eight hundred were Jews. The great destructiveness of the catastrophe of 1837 does not seem to have prevented population from returning to Tiberias. There are the same Jewish sects there which Burckhardt found—the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim. Wilson studied their ways with a curious eye, and was received as a guest by the chief rabbi. The Sephardim are mostly natives of Tunis, Morocco, Fez, and other parts of northern Africa. In addition to their synagogue, they have three public rooms where young men read the Scriptures and offer their comments. The conversation of this sect is carried on mainly in Spanish

[1] Scholtz, *Reise*, p. 248. [2] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 129-134.

and Hebrew, very little in Arabic. They have almost no connection with Europe. The Ashkenazim are not so numerous, embracing a population of about three hundred, while the Sephardim amount to five hundred. They are from Austria, Russian Poland, and Galicia, and use the Polish language: they do not pay tribute as a rule to the pasha of Acre, as most of them are provided with passes, and are under the protection of European consulates. The information which Burckhardt gives regarding the Jews of Tiberias relates, according to Wilson, only to the Ashkenazim, whose worship as it is conducted in the synagogue is very striking. At the daily reading of the Psalms of David, the listeners accompany with gestures, which oftentimes are very earnest, and their voices chime in in a very high key: they often imitate trombones and trumpets through the hollow of their hand, and beat time with their fists and feet. The references to the coming of the Messiah excite the wildest excitement throughout the synagogue, which subsides into quiet as the worshippers take their way homeward.[1]

2. *El-Mejel* (*Migdol*), *Magdala; el-Ghuweir* (*Little Ghor*), *or the Plain of Gennesaret; the Wadi el Hammam; the Kalaat Ibn Maan, or Hammam; the Castle of Doves.*

North of Tiberias, on the west coast of the lake, a single day's journey takes the traveller through the sites of Magdala, Bethsaida, Gennesaret, and Capernaum,—scenes of classic interest in connection with the New Testament. Few traces of their former aspect are now to be seen, however.

Going northward from Tiberias, we meet in half an hour a small wadi, through which a path may be taken which will lead into the regular road from Tabor to Damascus. Here lie five or six profuse springs near together, to which the name Ain el Berideh has been given,[2] *i.e.* the "cool fountains," to distinguish them from the hot ones south of Tiberias. They have a warmer temperature than the air; at least this was so at the time when the point was tested: the atmosphere was 84° Fahr., the springs 86°. The water is very clear, and only slightly brackish. Robinson was unable to decide whether the

[1] See Tristram's account of the present state of Tiberias, *Land of Israel*, pp. 424, 496.

[2] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 394.

cisterns which had been built to hold the water were ancient or modern; they were, however, overshadowed by oleanders and by nubk-bushes. Irby and Mangles speak[1] of them as six Roman baths of mineral water, and of a lukewarm temperature: this Wilson confirms. Schubert speaks of a small arm of the lake about a mile north of Tiberias, into which runs a brook of warm water, that issues from a cavity in the rock over which oleanders grow profusely. His account as to distance agrees with that of the travellers already referred to in this connection, although Schubert gives[2] the name of Szermadein to the place. Yet it cannot be denied that, in respect to the number of the springs, the form and extent of the wall which encloses them, and the characteristics of the water yielded, there are discrepancies[3] in the various travellers who have alluded to them, only to be explained by their concealment beneath the oleanders, and by the more or less hasty manner in which they have been observed.

Passing northward, we find the shore somewhat higher than before, and soon come to an open plain, in which lies[4] the pitiful little Mohammedan village of Mejel, once enclosed within walls which are now a heap of ruins. Seetzen[5] spent a night there, and estimated the distance as one and a quarter hours from Tiberias: he writes the name Majel, Burckhardt Mejel. The latter recognised the place, judging from the name, as the site of the ancient Magdala, from which Mary Magdalene probably received her name (Mark xv. 40; Luke viii. 2); a place which, according to the whole tenor of the Gospels (comp. Matt. xv. 29, 39, with Mark viii. 10), must have lain on the west side of the lake.[6] Dalmanutha, which Mark mentions in connection with it, appears to have been on the border of Magdala: its name does not seem to have been preserved.

And, indeed, it is a singular thing that the name of a little

[1] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* p. 300; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 135.

[2] Von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 245.

[3] See Buckingham's *Trav. in Pal.* ii. p. 334; Kitto, *Palestine, Phys. Geog. of*, ii. p. 234, Note 6; Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 320.

[4] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 397.

[5] Seetzen, *Mon. Corresp.* xviii. p. 349; Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 320,

[6] K. v. Raumer, *Pal.* p. 122, Note; also p. 130

fishing village lying on the border of the sea, and sheltered by high cliffs, has continued to be called as it was in the Saviour's time, while many of the great cities of the world have wholly disappeared. And we have the more reason to be grateful in this instance, from the fact that this one is so closely connected with the memory of Mary Magdalene.

The supposition that Magdala was on the east side of the lake,[1] where indeed there was a "Migdol by Gadara," is entirely groundless; and there are even in the Talmud repeated allusions to Magdala as being in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, and a favourite resort of learned Jews.[2] The expression "by Gadara" was unquestionably added to the other place of this name, in order to distinguish it from the home of Mary Magdalene. Gesenius thinks[3] it probable that the Migdal-el alluded to in Josh. xix. 38 as one of the cities of Naphtali is the Magdala on the western shore of Lake Tiberias; but as the Hebrew word indicates the Tower of God, and as the domain of Zebulun covered the territory south of Capernaum (which lay, according to Matt. iv. 13, on the borders of Naphtali and Zebulun), the view of Gesenius does not seem admissible, though the name Migdal is a Hebrew word which exactly corresponds to the Greek Magdala, and although Buckingham claims to have discovered the remains of a square gate which he thinks to be of very ancient origin. Wilson discovered[4] that a band of gipsies, fifty in number, had taken up their abode in Mejel, and gained a living as tinkers, musicians, and as agricultural labourers; they claim to be Mohammedans. Wilson addressed them in one of the dialects of India, and was understood perfectly,—a sure proof of their Indian extraction, of which they had lost all tradition. They lived in huts which they built for themselves out of dry rushes. He remarks that the village is not without traces of ancient walls and foundations, perhaps belonging to the *Magdalum Capellum Magdalæ Mariæ* to which Breydenbach alludes.

From the springs at Tiberias the shore runs north-west[5] as

[1] Scholtz, *Reise*, p. 158. [2] Lightfooti *Opp. Omn.* ii. p. 226.

[3] Gesenius, Note to Burckhardt, ii. p. 104; comp. Raumer, p. 130, Note 39.

[4] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 306.

[5] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 397; Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 359.

far as to Mejel, then it bears north-east. The hills of limestone, interspersed with basalt dykes, come down very near to the sea up to that point, and then recede, leaving a fine crescent-shaped plain two or three miles long and a third of a mile wide, at the northern extremity of which is Khan Minyeh.

At the south-west this plain begins to ascend gradually to a height of three or four hundred feet, towards the high plateau of Sahel Hattin: the Wadi el Humam (the Hammam of Burckhardt), winding down the same elevated tract in a south-westerly direction, breaks through the ridge, and north of the same runs to the sea. Towards the west and north the high land rises less steeply from the sea, and to a less altitude.

On the high precipitous cliff on the north-west side of the Wadi el Humâm, and a half-hour's distance west of Mejel, lie the ruins of Kalaat Ibn Ma'an, described by Burckhardt, Irby, and Mangles. A careful study of them is needed yet, in the opinion of Olshausen,[1] to set at rest some questions of great historical interest, supposed by him to be connected with them. Burckhardt heard[2] much about this old castle, which was named after the son of a certain Ma'an, or, according to some, was more strictly designated Kalaat Hamâm, or the Castle of Doves, in consequence of many wild pigeons being found in that neighbourhood. Schubert confirms the reason of the latter name, for he found large numbers of turtle-doves which had made their nests in the cavities of the wadi. Burckhardt describes the castle as a singular structure, apparently made by connecting ancient caves, many of them of large size, by means of passage-ways, building up rude external walls where weak places existed, and here and there breaking up the interior in the same way. A single footpath leads into it from below, running up so steeply that a horse cannot ascend it; in the interior, which is large enough to shelter six hundred men, there are several cisterns cut in the rock. The walls are at present in a very imperfect state: a few arches testify to the Gothic character of the structure, and make it probable, according

[1] Olshausen, Rev. in *Wien Jahrb.* vol. cii. p. 215.

[2] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 331; v. Schubert, *Reise*, iii. 251; Wilson, *Lands, etc.*, ii. p. 138.

to Burckhardt, that it was the work of the crusaders. Mr Banks, with his companions Irby and Mangles,[1] spent two days in examining the place, but did not publish the result of his investigations. He held the castle to be the Jotapata which Josephus mentions, in which conclusion I do not agree, as will be seen in another place. Mr Banks is very certain, however, that the citadel is older than the Roman occupation of Palestine. In the various recesses which previous travellers[2] considered to be burial-places, not a trace of what might indicate sepulture there was seen. On the way from Mejel to this castle, there were passed on the left side the remains of several convents, as they seemed,—one built close against the steep wall; and on the other side was the village of Erbed or Irbid, where were seen some Roman ruins. This Irbid or Irbil is the Arabic form for Arbela, probably the house Arbel, or Beth-arbel, mentioned[3] in Hos. x. 14, which was destroyed by Shalman. It is without question the site of the caves of Arbela, where robber hordes used to issue forth and attack Herod as he went to Sephoris; it is also the place which Josephus fortified against the Romans. Von Raumer, Robinson, and Wilson all agree in thinking that the whole body of evidence makes this certain. The last-named traveller has paid particular attention to the admirable character of the place as a defensive post. It commands the road from rocky Galilee to Damascus; it communicates directly with the Castle of Doves. Another road runs to the Wadi Rabadiyah, another (open for a part of the year at least) to Wadi el Amud, and still another to the great spring Ain et Tin at the Khan Minyeh. Wilson[4] confirms Burckhardt's descriptions of many natural caves in the limestone range, which earlier travellers took for burying-places,[5] but he says that they begin in the upper third of the perpendicular rock-wall. The plunge down into the Wadi Hammam is very precipitous. On the side of the ravine opposite to Kalaat there are other caves which travellers before Wilson had not noticed. The so-called Kurûn Hattin, or Horns of Hattin (*Mons beatitudinis*), are

[1] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* p. 299. [2] Tristram, p. 448.
[3] H. Relandi, *Pal.* p. 575.
[4] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 138, 307–309.
[5] Clarke, *Trav.* tom. ii. p. 466.

only the continuation of the rocky Wadi el Hamâm, whose topographical character could not fail to be remarked at a very early period, although the ruined walls upon them seem to date only from a modern period.

The fertile plain, at whose south-east corner the present village of Mejel with its gipsy population lies, bears the local name of Ard el Mejel:[1] elsewhere it is known among the Arabs as el-Ghuweir, or the Little Ghor, and corresponds, even in the details of extent, to the district, thirty stadia long and twenty broad, which Josephus designated as Gennesar or Gennesaret, and which he pictures in the most glowing colours, although it may be with a touch of exaggeration. From Mejel to the Khan Minyeh there is a straight path, about an hour long, leading near the lake. Burckhardt, who entered the plain from the north, says that the pasturage is so rich there that it has become a proverb in the neighbourhood: on the shore he found sedge and rushes, but no traces of the aromatic reed which Strabo ascribes to Gennesar. He found the plain scattered over with the trees which bear the names *dum* and *theder*, probably the *sidr* or *lotus napeca*. Seetzen, who also entered the plain on the north side, was charmed with the place, and thought it worthy of having been one of the favourite resorts of the Saviour. It was near it that he discovered[2] the Khan Bat Szaida, referred to in a preceding page. Von Schubert, who entered the plain from the south, speaks[3] of its great fertility; he also alludes to the brooks which enter from the west and water it, particularly the Wadi el Hamâm, which comes down from Hattin; he also speaks, as does Burckhardt also, of a village called Senjol lying in the heights of the west. In this, however, he follows Berghaus' Atlas, which in its turn is based upon Burckhardt's statement. But neither Robinson nor Wilson, in their exceedingly careful examination of the plain of Gennesaret, were able to discover such a place, and the former supposes that Burckhardt confounds Irbid (Arbela) with it. Both Robinson and Wilson allude in the strongest terms to the fertility of the plain, which

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 442–447; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 136–140, 306; Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 319.

[2] Seetzen, *Mon. Corresp.* xviii. p. 348.

[3] Von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 251.

remains just as it was at the time of Josephus, excepting that it is now used mainly for pasture, and lies fallow. The soil consists of a black loam formed by the mingling of decomposed basalt with the alluvium of the lake. In the morasses which occur, rice flourishes finely, and the few acres which are elsewhere under cultivation yield ample returns of all kinds of crops.

On the west side, directly below the Castle of Doves, and at the opening of Wadi el Hamâm, Robinson saw the ruins of a village called Churbel Wâdi el Hamâm. Wilson, who entered the plain at the outlet of this wadi, made his way along the west side, passing the ruins of Abu Shusheh, which Robinson[1] speaks of as a mere ruined village, without memorials of antiquity. Here Wilson found some storehouses, in which the Arabs deposited the results of their harvestings. This place Pococke[2] thought was the Bethsaida of the Gospels, because, in reply to his direct questions put to the Arabs whether it were not so, he was told that it was called Baitsida. He speaks of seeing there cisterns and buildings, among them a large church, with a door of finely wrought marble, and several pillars. No subsequent eye-witness confirms his account, however. It may be, that whatever he may have seen, has been converted into the corn magazines of the Arabs, to which Wilson alludes.

3. *The Springs and Brooks of the Plain of Gennesaret: the Khan Minyeh, at the northern extremity: Bethsaida, the Bat Szaida of Seetzen.*

Robinson took his way from Mejel through the plain, following an artificial watercourse, which led him to the outlet of the Wadi Rabadiyah, which has been already alluded to. Towards the south he discovered in the plain a spring called Ain el Mudanwarah, or the "round fountain:" it was walled up, and was about a hundred feet in diameter and two feet deep, but was so overgrown with bushes that few travellers have ever observed it. Pococke, however, alludes to it under this name,[3] and supposes that near it lay the ancient Capernaum,—a view which Robinson at first held, but which he was obliged to relinquish, from not finding any architectural relics

[1] Wilson, *Lands, etc.*, ii. p. 310; Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 340.
[2] R. Pococke, *Trav.* Ger. ed. ii. p. 99
[3] Pococke, Pt. ii. p. 105.

whatever in the neighbourhood. He remarks that the water of the spring is of service in supplying the plain with moisture, but not nearly so much so as the stream which courses down the Wadi Rabadiyah, and which is distributed over the northern and the southern part of the plain.[1]

Robinson, who did not follow the direct path along the sea-coast, selected, for the better examination of the whole tract, a western course, which led him not far from the base of the cliff, and near the opening of the Wadi Rabadiyah. On his way he passed a limestone pillar, twenty feet in length and two feet in diameter, in whose neighbourhood, however, he was unable to discover any trace of a former town. The northern portion of the plain he found less abundantly watered than the southern: here and there the ground was dry, and thistles were growing.

The Khan Minyeh was reached by Robinson, following his roundabout way from Mejel, in an hour and a half. Seetzen, however, was a quarter of an hour longer[2] in reaching the place, which he calls Bat Szaida, and which I think, notwithstanding, is the one mentioned by Robinson under the first-mentioned name. The statement of Seetzen, that the place was deserted and the khan fallen, together with his being obliged to cross a brackish brook coming from the north a short time before he reached it, is so consistent with the accounts of other travellers, and with Burckhardt's explicit allusion to the brackish brook Ain Tabegha, whose waters drove the wheel of a mill, that it puts it almost beyond question, that the deserted khan mentioned by Seetzen is identical with that which so many other travellers have spoken of by another name. It is a singular fact, and one that cannot be overlooked, that the khan alluded to has been called Minyeh for many generations; for even Bahaeddin, in the *Vita Saladini*, gives it this name. The appellation has been changed, it is true, in the arbitrary method of spelling Arabic words; but it has remained essentially the same, despite its varied forms, Mini, Menieh, Elmenie, el-Moinie, Almuny, Mennye, etc. And almost no one of those

[1] Josephi *Opp. omn.* ed. Haverc. T. ii. fol. 258; Note *e*, in *Casaub. Exercit.* edit. Lond. p. 299.

[2] Seetzen, *Mon. Corresp.* xviii. p. 548; Burckhardt, Gesenius' ed. ii. p. 558.

who have used any of these appellatives, has been apparently cognizant of the name which Seetzen gave the place. And Robinson and Wilson, whose efforts were so great to identify every possible spot in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Tiberias, laid no importance whatever upon Seetzen's statement regarding Bat Szaida.

Bethsaida, the city in Galilee which bore that name, and the home of Andrew, Peter, and Philip (John i. 44, xii. 21), must, according to Mark vi. 45, 53, have lain[1] in the neighbourhood of Capernaum, as did Chorazin also, which is spoken of in direct connection with Bethsaida (Matt. xi. 21; Luke x. 13). Eusebius and Jerome state that Capernaum was in existence in their time, and that it lay close by the sea. This Eusebius could testify explicitly to, since he had been on the spot. He also states that Chorazin was two Roman miles from Capernaum, but lay in ruins.

It is unquestionably the fact, that travellers in Palestine, as well as elsewhere in the East, are very certain to receive the answer which they hope to get, when they put leading questions; and on this account it was a first principle with Robinson, for which we cannot be too grateful to him, never to put questions in such a form as would indicate what he expected or hoped the answer would be. He might have largely increased the list, had he wished, of the glaring errors which have crept into geography, in consequence of the habit of putting leading questions, and of trusting to the answers. But in this case Robinson seems to go too far in suspecting the possibility of monkish legends attaching themselves to this deserted place, as well as in distrusting Seetzen on the ground of believing too readily,—a man whose acumen had led him shortly before to such striking results in the discovery of Bethsaida Julias on the east side of the lake. Robinson thinks that Seetzen heard the name Bat Szaida because he was so much off his guard as to ask leading questions. But Seetzen says expressly that the khan was uninhabited and deserted, and therefore no legend could be connected with it. Besides, had he followed a legend, as Pococke and others did, the ruins would have been exhibited farther away from the lake, and not in such a place as would show that there must

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 404, 409.

have been a mere fishing village. If Bethsaida had been a place which the monkish tales invested with any special interest or sanctity, the name would have been given to it in the descriptions of the countless pilgrims to the spot. But this has not been the case; and only in Cotovicus—who spent some time in 1598, in company with a fishing caravan, at the spot—do we meet the name Bethsaida[1] applied to the place. Seetzen gives no reason, indeed, for adopting this name Khan Bat Szaida, excepting that, coming from the eastern side of the lake, he was left there by his guide Hussein, and compelled to find his way alone back to Tiberias. From this guide he seems to have learned the name; and it may be, that the dwellers in the remote and unfrequented country farther east had preserved more carefully the name of a New Testament fishing village, than those had done who stood more in the great line of travel over the *Via Maris:* there the term appears to have given way to the word Minyeh; and only those who live more apart from intercourse with men keep the old name in a form almost unchanged.[2]

4. *Khan Minyeh; the Springs Ain Tin and Tabighah; the way to Tell Hum; Ruins of Capernaum.*

The Khan Minyeh[3] was once a large building composed of basaltic tufa, but now lying in ruins. It served the necessities of the large number of caravans which used to follow the *Via Maris*, and tarry here on their way from Jacob's Bridge at the north-east to Tiberias. Here the mountains come down very closely to the lake, and follow its border on to the place where the Jordan enters. Between the khan and the lake there is a large spring, whose waters flow forth in sufficient quantity to form a brook: the spring is called Ain Tin, from a fig tree which overshadows it. A short distance south of the

[1] J. Cotovicus, *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum*, *l.c.* p. 358.

[2] In illustration of this it may be remarked, that the people in Goldsmith's native village always call it now "Auburn," the name given it by the poet; but in the retired country a few miles away, the peasants speak of it as Lishoy, the old name.—ED.

[3] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 405; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 138, 141. (See an extract from Tristram's *Land of Israel*, with reference to the sites of Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida, in the appendix to this volume.)

khan there is a low knoll, on which lie ruins of considerable extent. They do not, it is true, indicate any great degree of antiquity, and Robinson was unable to learn that they bore any name.[1] North of the khan the plain closes, and a steep rocky path leads up from it over the hill which presses close to the lake, and descends, after a distance traversed in about twenty minutes, to the shore again, where lies the village Ain et Tabighah,[2] with its jetting springs pouring forth their lukewarm and brackish water in such quantity as to even drive several mills. To the east there is a round cistern, and known by the name Ain Eyub, the spring of Job. The wall which surrounded this cistern Wilson thought was constructed like those of the Roman baths, and Buckingham conjectured that it had once served that purpose; yet his description is so much indebted to his fancy, as to detract very much from its value.

From this point,[3] according to Robinson, the path runs along the brow of the line of hills whose base presses close to the shores of the lake, and which are neither so steep nor so high as those which are met farther south. The ground is thickly strewn with fragments of basaltic stone, between which shoots up the grass. Soon the traveller arrives at the ruins of Tell Hum, which lie near a slight curve of the shore, and somewhat above the level of the sea, and which are commonly considered to mark the site of the ancient Capernaum. Behind, the land rises gently and to a considerable height. The path winds along high up above the lake, and at length approaches the place where the Jordan enters. In order to see the ruins it is necessary to leave the path, and to come down the rough, rocky side of the hill. Robinson and Wilson both found the distance from the Ain Eyub to Tell Hum about that of an hour's walk. To go from the Khan Minyeh to Tell Hum requires about an hour and twenty minutes.

Neither Seetzen, Burckhardt, nor von Schubert were able to observe the ruins of Tell Hum[4] with special care. Buckingham described them in considerable detail, it is true; but I prefer to

[1] Buckingham, *Trav. in Pal.* ii. p. 336; von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 252.

[2] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 407; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 142.

[3] Buckingham, *Travels*, ii. p. 339; Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 407.

[4] Buckingham, *Trav.* ii. pp. 346–351.

trust the accounts of Robinson[1] and Wilson, rather than to accept his, which do not always betray a truth-loving nature. The ruins are of a place once evidently of importance, but now in a state of perfect decay and desolation. They extend for half an English mile along the coast, and as far into the interior. They consist of the fragments of ancient walls and foundations, and only two are in any tolerable state of preservation. Of these only one can be said to be standing. The rank growth of bushes and weeds has prevented travellers making any careful measurements of Tell Hum and the extent of its ruins. The one structure which is standing is near the shore of the lake, and is evidently of modern origin, although it is composed of the architectural fragments of the old and perished city. Robinson thinks that it is the marble church which Pococke[2] speaks of seeing there. Not far away lie the ruins of a building of great extent, and which, in respect of elaborate workmanship, seemed to surpass anything to be found in Palestine. The length Robinson could not ascertain with exactness; yet he assigns a hundred and five feet to the northern wall, and eighty-five feet to the breadth from east to west. Within this area there lay at the time of his visit several pillars scattered around, wrought out of the indigenous limestone, and decorated with beautiful Corinthian capitals, hewn architraves, elaborate friezes, and pedestals, many of which, however, were much out of their original place, perhaps owing to the influence of earthquakes. The pillars were not long, but of considerable diameter; and there were found, as in a church of Tyre, only on a larger scale, the double columns, otherwise unknown in Palestine, standing on a double pedestal, but hewn out of a single block. Wilson saw pieces of marble not indigenous to the place, scattered among the ruins. Some masses of stone, nine feet long and half as wide, and ornamented with sculpture, may have served as door-posts, and as coverings of the gates of a temple or church, possibly as sarcophagi. The whole place, taken in connection with the great devastation of the fairest decorations by the tooth of time, dashed by the ripples of the lake, and left to no other com-

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 407–411; Wilson, *Lands, etc.*, ii. pp. 142–144.

[2] Pococke, ii. p. 106.

panionship than that of the waters, is calculated to awaken the saddest feelings in the mind of the traveller.

Robinson, who, on grounds which seemed to him to justify him, did not accept the identity of the Khan Minyeh with the ancient Bethsaida, but, on the contrary, held that place to be the site of the ancient Capernaum, was unable to assign to Tell Hum the name of any place known historically to us. Most travellers have agreed, however, that Tell Hum was the ancient Capernaum, although opinions vary exceedingly regarding the situation of the three cities on which Jesus pronounced the curse recorded in Matt. xi. 21-23—Bethsaida, Chorazin, and Capernaum—there being no marked local memorial of them. Yet Robinson thinks that such a memorial exists in the name of the spring Kafer Naum, which, according to Josephus, watered the lovely plain Gennesar: the name signifies etymologically Nahum's Village. But as this could not have been originally the appellation of a spring, Robinson conjectured that it must have been connected with a town or hamlet lying in the immediate neighbourhood. The spring itself seemed to him to be one of the most profuse, and the most abundantly supplied with fish, to be found in the whole plain of Gennesaret; and Josephus says of it, that some called it the Vena Nili, since it produces a fish like the *coracinus*, found in the lake near Alexandria. There seemed to Robinson to be reasons enough for believing that the ruins on the knoll near by, although they do not seem to be very ancient, if not the site of the khan itself, are connected with the site of the ancient city of Capernaum. He is not the first who has taken this ground, for Quaresmius had no doubt that the Khan Minyeh stands where Capernaum once stood. But, on the other hand, most travellers who have paid attention to the question—Marin Sanudo, Rau, Pococke,[1] and Burckhardt—have held that Tell Hum occupies the site of the ancient city of which we speak,—an opinion which Dr Wilson, a more recent explorer, has placed on grounds of the highest degree of probability. The main reasons which Dr Wilson[2] adduces will appear in what follows. The name of the spring Capharnaum does not necessarily imply that the town of the same

[1] Pococke, ii. p. 105; Burckhardt, Gesenius' ed. ii. p. 558.

[2] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 138-149.

name lay close beside it: nay, in Palestine, instances where the village and the spring bearing the same name are a considerable way apart are very common. Besides, it cannot be that Josephus refers to the Ain Tin near the Khan Minyeh when he says that the spring which he mentions watered the whole plain of Gennesaret: it lies on the north-east extremity; and the whole district cannot be said to be so largely indebted to it as to the large round enclosed spring in the middle of the plain, the Ain el Mudauwarah, or as to the waters which pour through the Wadi Rabadiyah, and are then carried to almost every part of Gennesaret.

The allusion in Matt. iv. 13, "Jesus came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the sea-coast, in the borders of Zebulon and Nephthalim," is very definite, but unfortunately the precise location of the border of those two tribes is unknown to us. Pococke's conjecture that the Wadi Lymun forms the boundary is mere hypothesis, and deserves no serious consideration. The name Capernaum does not appear at all in the Old Testament.

A place of the name Capernaum is mentioned but once by Josephus; but that single allusion makes it seem more probable that the place was where Tell Hum now is, than where the Khan Minyeh lies. In the battle which Josephus waged with the Romans at the entrance of the Jordan into Lake Tiberias, he writes that he should have gained the victory had his horse not fallen into the morass, and he himself been wounded. He was at once carried by his men to a place called Cepharnome, where he lay in a feverish state for a day, while his followers pursued the enemy. When they returned in the evening, at the instigation of his physicians, he was carried during the night to Tarichæa, south of Tiberias. But is it not natural to suppose that the wounded men would be carried to the place called Tell Hum, which was but about an hour's distance from the battle-field, instead of more than twice that distance to the site of Khan Minyeh? The two names, the Capharnome of Josephus and the Capharnaum of the New Testament, are very similar: Reland has shown that Caphar readily passes into the form Caper, and in one edition of the Jewish historian we have the reading *Καφαρναοὺμ* instead of *Κεφαρνώμη*; they both unquestionably indicate the same place.

From the account given in John vi. 3, and 17–24, of the miraculous feeding the five thousand, which, as we have already seen, took place on the north-east side of the lake on the mountain near Julias Bethsaida, it appears that Capernaum was not far from there, since the people hastened to meet the Saviour, and do not seem to have taken a long detour around the head of the lake to come to the place where he was. In Mark vi. 33 we are told that they "ran afoot" to meet him, and that their speed was so great, in fact, that they even anticipated his own arrival, as we learn from Luke ix. 10 and Matt. xiv. 13: this is much more probable if they started from Tell Hum than from the Khan Minyeh. These reasons, taken together, seem to outweigh the argument which is drawn from the probable contiguity of a spring which bears the name of a village (Kaphar Nahum, the hamlet of Nahum), and that of the village itself. According to the view of Rödiger[1] the philologist, the word Tell, *i.e.* Hill, is often interchanged with Caphar, *i.e.* hamlet; and if that were the case in this instance, and if the word Nahum merely lost the first syllable, we have left the name which is given to the place to-day, namely Tell Hum. Rödiger states that the etymological derivation sometimes given to the word Hum in this connection, namely "drove of camels," is not correct, since it should be written *haum*, and not *hum*. The passage which Robinson cites from Arculfus, substantiating, as he thinks, the identity of Capernaum with the Khan Minyeh, and which Reland had already quoted in full, Wilson thinks applies more strictly to Tell Hum, as the lake must lie southward from Capernaum, while it is at the east of Khan Minyeh. Arculfus was not at the spot itself; he only describes what he could see from the *Mons Beatitudinis*, or Kurun Hattin. From the position where he stood, Capernaum seemed to be surrounded by no wall, but to lie on a narrow strip of shore between the mountain on the north and the lake on the south side, and itself extending from east to west (quæ, Capharnaum scil. murum non habens angusto inter montem et stagnum coartata spatio per illam maritimam oram longo tramite protenditur, montem aquilonali plaga, lacum vero ab australi, habens, ab occasu in ortum extensa dirigitur). Robinson's objection, that the gently rising hill behind Tell Hum is hardly important

[1] Rödiger, Rec. in *Allgemein. Hall. Lit. Z.* 1842, April, p. 581.

enough to be dignified by the name of mountain, is removed by the consideration that Arculfus' view was a distant one, and from a point where the background appeared to form part of a mountain ridge. Indeed, the very cautious Reland founds upon this quotation the conviction that Capernaum lay by the shores of the lake, very near the entrance of the Jordan. Turner remarks in his volume of travels, that Burckhardt[1] once spoke with him about a place lying in the neighbourhood under consideration, bearing the name Kafer Naym; but nothing further is known about such a spot, and Burckhardt makes no allusion to it in his work.

On the grounds which have been given in the preceding pages, it seems to be the least contradictory to the statements of those most qualified to make them, and to be in itself the most probable, that Bethsaida and Chorazin[2] are to be looked for at the neighbouring points now known as Ain Minyeh and Ain et Tabighah, while Capernaum is represented by the modern Tell Hum, at most an hour and a half's distance from Bethsaida. South of the Khan Minyeh, as far as Mejel, that is, between the ancient Bethsaida and Magdala, lies the fertile plain of Gennesaret: an hour's distance north-east of Tell Hum or Capernaum, the Jordan flows into the Sea of Galilee. Still we can only say that this is the most *probable* solution of the difficulties in the way; we can by no means insist that the matter is placed beyond a doubt. Yet in weighing this question, the opinion of some of the older pilgrims,[3] who have not hesitated to speak very decisively, is not to be very highly valued; for some, Felix Fabri and von Breydenbach, never visited the spot.[4] L. de Suchen, writing in the middle of the fourteenth century, says, without any attempt to speculate on the matter, that these places are such a desolation, that it is impossible to tell where they lay. According to Epiphanius, Constantine

[1] W. Turner, *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 143.

[2] Captain Wilson has ascertained, during his recent explorations, that the ruins of Chorazin at Kerazeh are far more important than was previously suspected: he states that they cover a much larger extent of ground than Tel Hum, and that many of the buildings are in an almost perfect state, excepting as regards the roofs.—Ed.

[3] *Sct. Willibaldi Vita*, in Mabillon, *Acta Sct.* T. ii. fol. 374, 375.

[4] Fel. Fabri, *Evagatorium*, ed. Hassler, vol. ii. p. 45; de Breydenbach, ed. Spirens, 1502, fol. 26*a*.

gave a certain Josephus the privilege of building at Capernaum (where the Jews had before been allowed to live) a Christian church, at the same time as in Tiberias and in Dio Cæsarea. It may have been this church which Antoninus Martyr,[1] some time prior to the year 600, went from Tiberias to visit. Is it not probable that the ruins of the extensive and highly ornamented building at Tell Hum, already referred to, may be the relics of that Basilica? The architecture is not opposed to such a conjecture.[2]

[For an interesting discussion on the subject of the sites of Bethsaida, Chorazin, and Capernaum, see extract in Appendix from Tristram's *Land of Israel*.—Ed.]

DISCURSION IV.

THE SHORE OF THE SEA OF GALILEE.

II. *The south and south-east side of the Lake.*

Here, as in so many other parts of the Holy Land, Seetzen[3] leads the way into new and unexplored regions. He left Tiberias on the 6th of February 1806, in order to examine the country around the southern and south-east parts of the Sea of Tiberias, and rectify the errors which had crept into the maps of that district. At the southern extremity of the lake he discovered rubbish and relics of walls, which he concluded once belonged to the city of Tarichæa, a place which sheltered the Jews after Tiberias had been surrendered to the Romans, and which held out against Titus and Vespasian. The Roman emperor determined to destroy it, in order that the war should not be protracted longer in that quarter. The place was strongly protected; and in the waters before it there was a large number of the boats, which had been made ready, in case it was necessary to fly, and escape to other strongholds beyond the lake. Titus encountered a small party of the Jews without the walls, and engaged them: they fell back to the city; and

[1] *Itinerar. B. Anton. Plac.*, in Ugolini, *Thes.* vii. fol. mccix.

[2] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 406. See also Wilson, *Lands, etc.*, ii. p. 150.

[3] Seetzen, *Mon. Corresp.* xviii. pp. 350–354.

while the gates were opened for them to enter, the Romans took advantage of the time and pressed in, and effected fearful carnage. Those of the inhabitants who were spared betook themselves to the boats; but even in this their purpose was defeated. Vespasian caused a number of fishing-boats to be made ready at once, and pursued the Jews over the waters of the lake, committing more bloodshed there, if possible, than he had done before upon the land. The number of captives afterwards made slaves is reported to have been 30,000; and six thousand ablebodied men of the number are reported to have been employed on the excavation of a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth. Those who escaped became freebooters on the east side of the Jordan, or betook themselves to the fortifications of Gamala, where they underwent a subsequent siege. The situation of Tarichæa (from ταριχος, a place where fish is salted) Seetzen thought he had discovered, from the existence of a layer of salt covering the ground of a place where the desolation seemed to be perfect, and which bore the name Ard el Malahha, the place of salt. According to Josephus, Tarichæa lay upon an elevation: it cannot therefore, in Burckhardt's[1] opinion, be looked for on the site of the present village of Szemmak, or on the east side of the Jordan. But Banks discovered, at the southern extremity of the lake, between the shore line and the mountains, the remains of an aqueduct[2] and of walls, which he thinks belonged to the ancient city of which we are now speaking, and which seems to have lain in part upon two hills, one of which is close to the outlet of the lake. This part of the old town seems to have been surrounded by ditches, which are now filled with water when the Jordan is high. It is an hour's walk, according to Wilson, from the baths of Tiberias to the site of Tarichæa. A quarter of an hour's distance south-east from the lake lies the miserable village of Kerak,[3] inhabited by a small number of fellahin, or cultivators of the arable land in that neighbourhood. The southern shore of the lake here begins to run, at a height of from ten to forty feet above the level of the water, though without a steep slope: along the margin there is a narrow and rough path, which on the east side changes to a strip of

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 275. [2] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* p. 300.
[3] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 124–129.

sand. The water of the Jordan, which passes at the outlet under the shade of a long and dense thicket of oleanders on the west side, is not dark and muddy, as it is before it enters the lake: it has lost its sediment, and become as clear as crystal. The river is about thirty feet wide, and six feet deep in the middle. It begins its series of remarkable windings not far from the ruins of the first ancient bridge. A hundred paces below this one, which is traced with some difficulty, there are the far more discernible remains of a Roman bridge of ten arches.[1] Wilson calls it Kanaiterah. From it there is a much finer view of the whole lake than is gained from the northern extremity, since the mountains on the east side tower up very prominently. The bridge can no longer be used; and when Dr Barth[2] visited it, he found that the water rushed so vehemently between the arches, as to make it necessary to exercise the greatest care in crossing the river.

The only travellers who have penetrated the country east of the Sea of Tiberias are Seetzen and Burckhardt, although it must be confessed that they were able to make no thorough exploration, and only reached one or two places of interest.

Seetzen went first down the broad valley of the Jordan, the Ghor, which, in consequence of the steep sides of the mountains on both sides, he likens to the vale of Bkaa, although there is very little of the majesty of the mighty Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges to be seen here. He passed by the old Roman bridge which spanned the Jordan, and in a few hours came to a bridge of five arches which crossed its first eastern tributary, the Sheriat Manadra. A half-hour farther on he reached the second bridge over the Jordan, if Kanaiterah be reckoned the first, called Jssir el Medjamea, at whose western extremity there was a khan with a small garrison. From this bridge he turned back, having attained one object of his mission, which was to learn whether the Sheriat Manadra (Hieromax, Yarmuk) flows directly into the lake, as had been supposed, or into the Jordan.

The next day he entered the high land of Jolan on the east side of the lake, and climbed a rocky mountain, upon whose summit was the deserted Khan el Akabeh Phik, a

[1] Irby and Mangles, *l.c.* p. 301.

[2] Dr H. Barth, *Tagebuch*, 1847, MS.

locality which seemed to him to correspond to Josephus' description of the fortress of Gamala, one of the last places of refuge for the flying Jews. Here, in the mountain fastness which was called Gamala, from a fancied resemblance to a camel's hump, they defended themselves for seven months against the legions of Titus and Vespasian, but were at last compelled to surrender. Hunger and the ferocity of the Roman soldiery spared, it is said, but two of the whole number who had found shelter there.

Farther north, about opposite the middle point of the eastern coast of the lake, Seetzen reached the Phik or Fik itself (the Feik of Burckhardt), only two hours south-east of the place where the blind sheikh lived whom he had visited before, as described on a preceding page. He thus accomplished, though not in the manner he expected, his plan of passing around the lake, and exploring its whole eastern shore. Of the remains of three of the cities which once belonged to the Decapolis—Hippos, Capitolias, and Pella—he could gain no information. He purposed to go from Phik to the ruins of Mkes (Om Keis) on the southern side of the Sheriat Manadra, but could find no guide to show him the way thither: the Amatha (hot baths), three hours from Phik in the Valley of Manadra, was known to the guides, but for fear of the wild Beduins no one ventured to conduct him thither. An hour's distance west of Phik, on the shore of the lake, Seetzen saw the marked ruins of Kalaat el Hössn, lying on the summit of a mountain of dark brown basalt; it was afterwards considered by Banks and Leake to be the ancient Gamala. From this point Seetzen proceeded south-east to el-Botthin (Batanea, Bashan), which is separated by the Sheriat Manadra from northern Jolan (Gaulonitis).

Burckhardt[1] entered the Ghor on the first week of May 1812, and found the barley harvest almost ended at that time, although it was not expected to be ready around Lake Huleh till half a month later. In the Ghor all the herbage was then dry, while the heights of the eastern Hauran, which he had just left, were covered with grass. Without instituting any measurements, he calls the Ghor one of the greatest depressions in Syria, and, like Seetzen, compares its general aspect to the

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 274.

Bekaa valley, between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon ranges. His keen perception did not lead him astray when he declared that the depression was nearly as much lower than the general level of Hauran and Jaulan, as the average height of the line of mountains on the east of the Ghor; although, of course, he did not conjecture that it lay below the level of the ocean. The heat, which he found here greater than in any other part of Syria, he ascribed to the concentration of the sun's rays between the cliffs, and to the impossibility of feeling the cooling west winds. He confirms a remark made by Volney, that there are few regions in the world where more marked contrasts are crowded into the space of a few miles than here, where are to be seen from the same spot the perpetual snows of Hermon, the fruitful plains of Jaulan, with their charming carpet of flowers, and the desolation of the parched and torrid Ghor.

At the entrance of the Sheriat Manadra into the Jordan, Burckhardt estimated the width of the Ghor at one and a half to two hours; he followed the bushy banks of the river to the village of Szammagh, consisting of only forty huts, and standing on a soil composed of loam and masses of black basalt not yet comminuted. A quarter of an hour's distance west of the village he discovered the outlet of the lake.[1] Between the outlet and the first bridge over the Jordan he heard that there are two fords.

From the village of Szammagh, Burckhardt[2] passed in three-quarters of an hour to the height on which stands the Khan el Akabe, near a spring by which the great road runs from Hauran and the Ghor through Jolan to Damascus. A quarter of an hour's distance farther on lies Ain Akabe, a much larger spring; and still another quarter of an hour away the top of the ridge is attained. Then follows a level road of an hour and three-quarters, in order to reach the Feik of Burckhardt, or Phik of Seetzen: it is about four and a half hours distant from the village of Szammagh.

Nearer the lake, and only an hour east of the last-named village, lies the solitary village Cherbit Szammera, containing some ruins of ancient buildings. Lying on the east side of the

[1] Burckhardt, Gesenius' ed. i. p. 433.

[2] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 278.

Sea of Tiberias, it seemed to Burckhardt to correspond with what would be the probable situation of Hippos, regarding which neither Josephus nor Jerome have given us clear information. The former merely says that it was situated in the district of Hippene, which was on the eastern border of Galilee, and probably to be reached by crossing Lake Tiberias. To the north, along the sea-coast, Burckhardt saw the locations of two deserted places, Doeyrayan and Tell Hum. Three-quarters of an hour north of the Khan el Akaba he saw the half-ruined yet still inhabited village of Kefr Hareb. Seetzen's map gives north and east of Feik the names of several ruins,[1] showing, at least, that this high part of Jolan was not always so desolate as it is now.

The village of Feik, lying at the commencement of one of the wadis which run westward to the lake, and yet on land so high as to command an extensive view, Burckhardt found inhabited by two hundred families. A walk of three-quarters of an hour leads from this place to the steep and solitary eminence on which stand the extensive ruins el-Hössn, which Burckhardt considered to indicate the site of Argob or Regaba ; Banks and Leake, of Gamala. I am inclined to think, however, that el-Hössn corresponds rather to Hippos than to Gamala, which, according to Josephus, was no solitary mountain, but had directly at the back of it a broad plain, on which the approaches to the city were guarded by walls and ditches such as those which are suggested by Seetzen's description of the Khan el Akaba. Near Hippos stood, we are told by Eusebius and Jerome, the great castle of Apheca,[2] which may have been the Aphik mentioned in Judg. i. 31 as one of the places which the tribe of Asher was never able to overcome so far as to drive the original inhabitants out.

From the earliest times Feik seems to have played an important part as a caravan station on the great highway through Jolan to Damascus. In Burckhardt's time it was the only district east of the lake which belonged to the pashalic of Akka. The hospitality of the place this great traveller found to be something surprising. Indeed, he says that a traveller may spend a whole month in Hauran and Jolan without paying a

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 279.

[2] In *Onom. s.v.* 'Αφεκί. See Gesenius' note to Burckhardt, i. p. 530.

para for his entertainment, yet little gifts on his part are not refused. Around Feik Burckhardt saw olive trees growing, showing that the plateau is not too high for them to thrive; and on the flat roofs of the houses the people were compelled to guard themselves from the heat of the sun's rays by means of mats. Of ancient buildings there are but few traces, although the remains of two towers may be seen.

DISCURSION V.

THE GREAT CARAVAN ROAD FROM THE EAST SIDE OF LAKE TIBERIAS TO DAMASCUS, PASSING THROUGH FEIK (APHECA) AND NOWA (NEVE), AND TRAVERSING JOLAN (GAULONITIS) AND JEDUR (JEYDUR, ITURÆA).

The only road passing from the east side of Lake Tiberias through Jolan is the caravan route leading from Feik to Damascus, nearly parallel with the Kanneytra road at the north-east.

Burckhardt is the only traveller who has yet explored this district, and his brief record must be our only guide. North-east of Feik, and on the farther side of the cultivated district, begins the modern Jolan,[1] whose southern frontier is formed by the Wadi Hamy Sakker and the Sheriat. The ancient Gaulonitis was not so extensive, embracing a mere strip along the eastern shore of Lake Tiberias and the upper Jordan. The district around Feik Burckhardt considered to be the province of Hippene: Argob he thought to be the most northern tract, three or four hours' distance from Feik, and closed by Jebel Heish.

Burckhardt's first day's march was from Feik to Nowa; the second carried him to Damascus. A half-hour beyond the starting-place were the ruins of Radjoin el Abhor, an hour's distance north-east of which was the village of Jebein, and three-quarters of an hour to the left the fallen village of el-Aal, lying on the side of the same Wadi Semek or Szemmak, in which Seetzen discovered the tent of the blind sheikh. On the farther side of the wadi, in which many reeds grow which the Arabs use in making mats, lies Kaffr Berdoweil,—a name which recalls the times of the Crusades, as it is a corruption of Baldwin or Balduin.

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* pp. 281–284.

The high plain continues, but is uncultivated. It yields, however, excellent pasturage for camels and neat cattle. The road passes by Ram, a pool formed by the rains, and an hour and three-quarters wide, with a spring near it. Two and a quarter hours farther on are the extensive ruins of the city of Chastein, built of blocks of black basalt, with traces of an edifice which once must have been attractive. To the left, two and three-quarter hours away, Burckhardt saw Tel Zechy; and an hour and a half farther, Tel el Faras at the southern extremity of Jebel Heish.

Three hours farther on he descended from the high land into Wadi Moakkar, which runs southward to the Sheriat Mandara. To the left, three and a half hours away, he left the ruined village of el-Kebur; and passing over the Wadi Seyde, Burckhardt reached in three and three-quarter hours the bridge which crosses the Wady Hamy Sakker. Along the whole way he met peasants and Arabs on the way to the Ghor to gather in the barley harvest. From this bridge it is but two and a half hours to the Sheriat.

Four hours more brought Burckhardt to the spring Ain Keir, and a few minutes more to Ain Dekar. South of the road thus far, with the exception of the village of Jebein, there had been no regular settlement; nothing more permanent than the encampments of Beduins. Burckhardt dined at Tfeil, which is one of the most important villages in Jolan, and has a population of eighty to a hundred families, who live in the half-ruined houses of the place: the largest building, a mosque, seems once to have been a Christian church.

After leaving Tfeil the plain was for the most part covered with fine fields of wheat and barley. A half-hour's distance north of Tel Jemera Burckhardt saw Tel Jabye, with a village on it; and one and three-quarters beyond Tfeil he found Nowa, where he encamped for the night. This is one of the most important places in Jolan, and was once a city a half-hour in circumference. Neve (so called in the *Itin. Anton.*, and the Nova of Abulfeda[1]) was a Jewish city in the eparchy of Arabia, and is mentioned by Jerome, although confounded by him with Nineveh.[2] According to the *Itinerar.* it lies thirty-six Roman

[1] *Itin. Antonin.* ed. Parthey, 196, 198, pp. 88, 89.

[2] H. Reland, pp. 217, 909, 910; Gesenius, note to Burckhardt, i. p. 540.

miles from Capitolias, on the Sheriat Manadra, and sixteen from Gadara,[1]—data which may lead at some future time to the identification of the former. Burckhardt found here a multitude of fallen private dwellings, and the remains of some which were used for public purposes: a temple, of which a pillar still remains, has been transformed into a mosque. At the southern extremity of the place stands a small square massive structure, probably a mausoleum; and on the north side of the town are the remains of another square but large building, of which nothing continues in a state of completeness excepting the entrance, elaborately adorned with sculptures. There are several springs and cisterns in the city, and the grave of a Turkish saint.

The second day's march brought Burckhardt to Damascus, as already remarked. Two hours north of Nowa lies the village of Kosem, on the southern frontier of the district of Jedur or Ituræa, and on the northern confines of Jolan; though some consider Nowa to be on the boundary. The places passed after that were Om el Mézabel, Onhol, and the Tel el Hora, the highest hill in the plateau of Hauran and Jolan. Then followed Semneim and Jedye, where the cultivation was very poor. All these villages have pools or cisterns not unlike in character the Lake Philaa, which has in another place been spoken of in connection with the sources of the Jordan.

Burckhardt then passed Deir el Aades, Tel Moerad, Tel Shak-hab, a village with a small castle and abundant springs, and War Ezzaky, with its fallen Khan Ezzeiat. Here the millstones for the Damascus market are hewn. The road then passed the Khan Denur and the village of el-Kessue, the latter of which is but three hours from Damascus.

[1] H. Reland, *Pal.* p. 694.

CHAPTER III.

SEC. 6. THE LOWER COURSE OF THE JORDAN FROM LAKE TIBERIAS TO THE DEAD SEA.

DISCURSION I.

FIRST ATTEMPTS TO INVESTIGATE AND NAVIGATE THE JORDAN TO THE DEAD SEA—MOLYNEUX'S EXPEDITION IN AUGUST 1847.

TWO efforts to navigate the waters of the Jordan have been made in rapid succession during the present century; the one undertaken by the English Lieut. Molyneux in 1847, and that of the American Capt. Lynch in 1848. The death of the former almost immediately after accomplishing a part of his mission, and before he could give any special attention to the Dead Sea, has prevented our knowing all that we should wish to learn regarding the scientific results of the expedition; while there has not come into my hands the account of the American expedition of Lynch,[1]—a document that will be awaited with great interest. Molyneux has, however, left behind him a valuable sketch of his exploration of the Jordan, which, if not so full as could be wished, gives a vivid picture of the dangers encountered, and of the general physical character of the Ghor.

No one has yet been able to go on foot[2] along the shore of the Jordan between the Sea of Tiberias and the Dead Sea; and

[1] The account reached Prof. Ritter in season to be used in his discussion of the Dead Sea, and will there be found fully cited. To supply the want of the earlier chapters, I have condensed Lynch's account of his voyage down the lower Jordan, and inserted it directly after the compressed narrative of Molyneux.—ED.

[2] This must now be qualified, since Lynch divided his party, some taking the boats, and the others forming a guard along the shore.—ED.

yet, by putting together the glimpses which have been caught by those who have partially traversed it, and by comparing these with the landscape as seen from the river, we have a tolerably complete picture of the Ghor. It is known that two at least of the earlier pilgrims—Antoninus Martyr and Willibald—together with King Baldwin I., passed down the valley of the lower Jordan, but they have left us no account of what they saw upon the way.[1]

In following Molyneux's narrative, it must be borne in mind that his expedition was undertaken in the driest time of the year; and that during the wet season, and with a flat boat instead of a ship's dingy, he might have been able to shun many of the dangers and hardships which he encountered.

The upper portion of the lower course has already been alluded to in my account of the southern shore of Lake Tiberias. I have spoken of the Roman bridge with five arches, which was discovered by Seetzen near the place where the Sheriat Manadra enters the Jordan; of the faint traces of a Roman bridge of ten arches, the Kanneiterah of Wilson, directly below the outlet of the Sea of Tiberias; and also of another bridge over the Jordan, two and a half hours farther south, the Jessr el Medjomie of Burckhardt. This preparation will enable us the better to enter upon the study of the lower course of the sacred river.

Molyneux's Boat Exploration[2] *of the Jordan in* 1847.

First day. Aug. 25.—The river was at first a hundred feet broad and four or five deep: the first turning brought him in sight of a large ruined ridge, the arches of which having all fallen, completely obstructed the passage. Here the difficulties commenced; and for the seven hours that the party travelled the first day, they scarcely ever had water enough to float the boat for any consecutive hundred yards. Many of the wild Arabs accompanied them along the banks of the river, possibly to rejoice over or to take advantage of any accident which might befall the boat. In many places Molyneux found the river split up into several small streams, and consequently without much water in any of them. About an hour and a half after

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 380.

[2] Molyneux, *Exped.* in *Journ. of the Roy. Geog. Soc.* xviii. p. 108.

starting they came to a full stop, and were obliged to take everything out, and carry the boat upwards of a hundred yards over rocks and through thorny bushes; and in many other places afterwards it was nearly as bad. The Ghor was here about eight or nine miles broad; and this space is anything but a flat—nothing but a continuation of bare hills, with yellow dried-up weeds, which look, when distant, like corn stubbles. These hills, however, sink into insignificance when compared to the ranges of mountains which enclose the Ghor, and it is therefore only by comparison that this part of the Ghor is entitled to be called a valley.

Molyneux was surprised to find a great number of weirs running across the river; but most of them appeared to be only loose walls of stone, mud, and turf, rising three or four feet above the water. Some of them were within less than a hundred yards apart. These weirs turn the stream into small channels, which irrigate the little green patches on either side, and produce the scanty vegetation on which the Arab tribes subsist. These weirs they had generally to pull through to make a gap large enough for the boat to pass; and sometimes they were obliged to build them up again afterwards, to avoid having trouble with the Arabs. From the top of one of them, which was of more solid masonry than the rest, they had to launch the boat. When approaching the village of Summakh, they had high, steep, sandy cliffs all along the banks of the river, particularly on the left: the place itself they found perched upon the top of a round sandy hill, and looking as dry and as miserable as the rest of the country. Here he encountered an Arab sheikh, who claimed to have the control of the territory for two days' march down the river: he demanded six hundred piastres for the privilege of passing through the district; but as Molyneux refused to give more than two hundred, he at last accepted that, and promised to give his protection. He proved to belong to the powerful tribe of Beni Sakkers, who inhabit a large portion of the Ghor.

After passing the village of Abadiyeh, and going a little farther, Molyneux reached the ruins of el-Buk'ah, where he determined to spend the night. The place itself consisted of nothing more than the ruins of two villages, one on each side of the river; the mere walls remained. Just above there was

a small waterfall, down which it was necessary to ease the boat.

Second day.[1]—The river was so shallow below el-Buk'ah, that the boat was seriously injured by the stones, and at length Molyneux was compelled to make it be carried by the camels. From a hill above the road which the party then took they had a fine view of the whole valley, with its many Arab encampments, all made of the common coarse black camel-hair cloth. Very large herds of camels were to be seen in every direction, stalking about upon the apparently barren hills in search of food. The Jordan had split into two streams of about equal size after leaving el-Buk'ah; and its winding course, which was marked by luxuriant vegetation, looked like a gigantic serpent twisting down the valley. After forming an island of an oval form, and about five or six miles in circumference, the two branches of the Jordan again unite immediately above an old, curiously-formed bridge. This bridge [the Jessr Medjamie of Burckhardt], which is still in such good preservation that the road passes over it, consists of one large, pointed arch in the centre, with two smaller ones on either side, and over the latter there are three or four small arches of the same shape, which go quite through the masonry. On the western bank, opposite the end of the bridge, there is a large ruined building of a square form, and not less than two hundred feet each way: it had been well built, and even now has the remains of a fine massive gateway composed of very large stones. The walls of this quadrangle were high and loopholed, and had several well-built towers, some of which had windows, and in the centre stood a large cistern. The bridge was built of a very dark stone abutting against the solid rock. Here they launched the boat again, and found a great improvement in the depth of the water.

Molyneux found the country along the banks of the Jordan very populous, and became convinced that it would have been utterly impossible to have succeeded in going down the river in opposition to the Arabs. The Ghor now began to wear a much better and more fertile aspect. It appears to be composed of two different platforms: the upper one on either side projects from the foot of the hills which form the great valley, and is

[1] Molyneux, *l.c. Journ.* xviii. p. 111.

tolerably level, but barren and uncultivated. It then falls away in the form of rounded sand-hills or whitish perpendicular cliffs, which enclose this smaller valley; but generally it winds in the most tortuous manner between them. In many places these cliffs are like walls, and entirely preclude the possibility of communication between the river and the cattle above. At this part of the Jordan the lower plain seems to be from one and a half to two miles broad, and so full of the most rank and luxuriant vegetation, like a jungle, that in a few spots only can anything approach its banks. Some of the bushes and ferns are very beautiful. There was abundance of game seen on the way, but Molyneux had no opportunity to observe it, the trouble encountered with the Arabs was so great. The altercations which arose harassed him incessantly, not to speak of the continued danger of an attack. The seven loaded barrels which he carried around his own person secured a tolerable degree of respect, but the worry of the day was enough, as he says, to drive a reasonable person mad. The tribe which undertook to be his first escort, the Beni-Sakkers, were carrying on war with the Anizees, and it was from these that an assault was at any moment to be expected. Molyneux makes no mention of the windings of the river, excepting to say that it would be quite impossible to give any account of the various turnings of the Jordan in its way from the Lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea.

Third day.[1]—The place where the party had bivouacked was called Attah. There the lower valley, through which the river more immediately runs, breaks out into a magnificent plain, extending from the foot of the hills on either side across the Ghor, but with a high slip on the western side, where the large Arab village of Beisan stands. The party was soon obliged to mount to the top of the high western ridge, as they passed in sight of Beisan. The country there appeared very different from that which they had passed since leaving Lake Tiberias. The ground abreast of Beisan, and as far westward as Molyneux could see, was fertile, well watered, and cultivated, chiefly with Indian corn. It is also thickly inhabited: hundreds of small sheds could be seen studding the plain, with men watching the crops, and slinging stones to keep off the birds.

[1] Molyneux, *Exped. l.c.* p. 114.

Molyneux thought the view from this point over the valley of the Jordan one of the finest things he had seen: an abundant vegetation extending up the slopes of the eastern hills, which are crowned with trees up to the summit, and everything growing in the wildest luxuriance; while on the western side, the higher steppe breaks down into steep sand-hills or whitish perpendicular cliffs, with only here and there the means of ascent. The river, as usual, winds very much, with banks about twenty feet in height, of brown clayey soil, somewhat resembling those of the Thames, and for some distance on either side a thick and almost impenetrable jungle.

They made but a short journey on this day, as it was necessary to send to Beisan to get barley for the horses and food for the Arabs: the tent was pitched on the small island of el-Kerma, on the western side of the river. That day did not pass without more serious trouble with the Arabs: the difficulties were those experienced in passing through an enemy's country, in addition to the great labours inseparable from the low state of water in the river, and the difficulty of getting supplies of food. The heat was insupportably hot—108° in the tent; and the commander of the expedition here began to give signs of yielding to its influence. The water sufficed, however, to float the boat, but there were hundreds of places where a man could leap across from stone to stone without wetting his feet. The party procured with difficulty some flour and melons from Beisan; but the Beduins generally will sell nothing: indeed, they appear to have but little to spare, rich as the country appears to be. From seeing a quantity of deposit in the plain of the Jordan, and the marks of water in various places at a distance from the river, it was evident that the Jordan widely overflows its banks: the sheikh informed Molyneux that in winter it is occasionally half an hour across, which accounts for the luxurious vegetation in this part of the Ghor.[1]

Fourth day.[2]—This night a dew fell so heavy that the leader of the expedition woke up wet through. The river continued to be good for the boat, but there was no good road for the camels. The country through the early part of the day was very fine, well watered, and fertile: the river ran through

[1] See Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 342.

[2] Molyneux, *Exped. l.c.* xviii. p. 116.

the best part of the valley: very soon the higher terraces on either side began to close in, and to narrow the fertile space below; the hills became irregular, and only partly cultivated; and by degrees the whole Ghor resumed its original form, entirely different from the neighbourhood of Beisan. The zig-zag course of the river was prettily marked by lines of green foliage on its banks, as it veered from the cliffs on one side to those on the other.

This day did not go by without more altercation with the Arabs, but fortunately it passed by without bloodshed. Molyneux learned from the sheikh the number of the great tribes inhabiting the Ghor: the Ameers about eight hundred men, the Beni-Sakkers six to seven hundred, and the Anizees fifteen to sixteen thousand.

Fifth day.[1]—Leaving the camping-place, which the Arabs called Fath-Allah, and after giving directions to the boat, the party mounted the hills east of the river. The Jordan here runs near the foot of the western mountains, which fall away in steep cliffs to the water's edge, so that the narrow plain of the river, in but very few places, attains to the breadth of half a mile of cultivated ground. The lower hills to the eastward can be considered little more than a continuation of the high range of mountains: they are barren and uncultivated, with the exception of occasional wooded patches, and here and there some stunted shrubs or trees covered with sharp thorns. The water this day was very troublesome, having many shallows and some large falls, and the ruins of a bridge took some time to pass, so that the boat was nearly six hours and a half traversing a distance by water which some members of the party traversed in three hours by land.

At about noon the boat reached a place on the river not far from Abon Obeidah, and about an hour and a half to the north of Wadi Zerka, called by the Arabs Seguia.[2] The cliffs on the western side are soft limestone, quite bare, and in some places they cannot be less than three or four hundred feet high. In one spot only they were observed to be of a reddish hue. This day the men in the boat shot two tigers and a boar.

Sixth day.—Leaving Seguia in the morning, at half-past

[1] Molyneux, *Exped. l.c.* xviii. p. 118.

[2] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 347.

nine, they were abreast of the large old square castle of el-Rabua[1] perched on Jebel Ajloun, where Ibrahim Pasha, when he held this country, kept an Albanian guard; but at present no one inhabits it. At Seguia the river continues to run near the western hills; and between Abon Obeidah and the cliffs which terminate the upper ground on that side, there is a considerable plain with many trees, and apparently well cultivated. This plain may extend perhaps eight or ten miles from north to south, the river Zerka bounding it on the latter side. The Jordan there again crosses the Ghor obliquely, and everything, except about its immediate banks, becomes barren and desolate. About noon they descended from the upper ground into the plain, through which the river runs, and which is here very remarkable, being particularly level and very green; and the contrast between it and the white cliffs which bound it on either side making it look like one large green river. This was an eventful day to the party, for the company which was in the boat was attacked when the leader of the expedition with some others were a few miles in advance on the shore: the boat with its contents was taken by the Arabs, and the men, stripped of their clothing, were permitted to go. As the men did not make their appearance, after this disheartening intelligence reached Molyneux, he pressed on during the night towards Jericho, entering it about daybreak the next morning.

Thus ended the reconnaissance of the Jordan by an English party; the loss of the boat made it impossible to do much more at this time. It was afterwards recovered, however, and the missing men in due time made their appearance at Tiberias, having endured very severe sufferings. When we shall advance so far in our inquiries as to examine the Dead Sea, we shall have to revert again to the narrative of Molyneux.

Lieut. Lynch's Voyage down the Lower Jordan from Lake Tiberias to Beisan (Bethshean).

The scenery, as the party left the lake and advanced into the Ghor, which at the outset is about three-quarters of a mile in breadth, assumed rather a tame than a savage character. The rough and barren mountains skirting the valley on either hand stretched away in the distance, like walls to some gigantic

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 266; Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* p. 306.

fosse, their southern extremities half hidden or entirely lost in a faint purple mist. The average breadth of the river near the outset was about seventy-five feet; the banks were rounded, and about thirty feet high, luxuriantly clothed with grass and flowers. There were the anemone, the marigold, occasionally a water-lily, here and there a straggling asphodel close to the water's edge, but not a tree nor a shrub. The party lost sight of the lake five minutes after leaving it. The water was about ten feet deep, and was clear. They had no difficulty in the navigation till after passing the first bridge, whose ruins are very marked. They then encountered the first of that series of rapids which was thereafter to be the source of so much danger and difficulty. Lynch had a great advantage over Molyneux in his metallic boats, which were merely bruised and dented as they came in contact with the sharp rocks of the rapids, where wooden boats would almost infallibly go to pieces. Lynch found only eight inches of water in this time of flood, and concluded correctly that the river would be very dry in the later months of summer.

After passing the rapids they pitched for the night, just upon the edge of the Ghor. A little to the north, the Ard el Hamma swept down from the left. The lake was concealed, although in a direct line quite near, and a lofty ridge overlooked them from the west. The soil here is a dark rich loam, luxuriantly clothed, three feet deep with flowers: the purple bloom of the thistle predominated; and the yellow marigold and pink oleander were occasionally relieved by the scarlet anemone. The rocks nowhere crop out, but large boulders of sandstone and trap are scattered over the surface. Among the flowers seen there, in addition to those already named, were the Adonis, or pheasant's eye; the briony, formerly used in medicine; the scabiosa stellata, in great luxuriance; and two kinds of clover.

The second day only brought an increase of labour and hardship; for hardly had they started in the morning, when they found the river impeded by rapids to such an extent, as to make the progress by boat well-nigh impossible: indeed, it would have been hopeless, had there not been an old mill sluice, which was closed by stones, but which, when opened, formed a tolerable means of passing round the formidable breakers.

There were five successive cascades in the river; and the entire fall, within a short distance, was eighteen feet. After passing this dangerous spot, the water was stiller and deeper. The soil on the banks was fertile, but entirely uncultivated. The surface of the plain was about fifteen feet above the river, thence gradually ascending a short distance to a low range of hills, beyond which, on each side, the prospect was closed in by mountains. In the afternoon they passed the village of Abadiyeh, a large collection of mud huts, on a commanding eminence to the right: the people—men, women, and children—all hurried down the hill towards the river when they saw the Americans. It was impossible to tell whether the inhabitants intended to molest them; for the boats swept by with too much rapidity for them to carry their designs into execution. The banks of the river were clothed with luxuriant verdure,—the rank grass here and there separated by patches of wild oats. The mountain ranges forming the edges of the upper valley, as seen from time to time through gaps in the foliage of the river banks, were of a light-brown colour, surmounted with white. After passing nine rapids during the day, the water became clearer, and was eight feet deep: the bottom was hard: there were small trees in thickets under the banks; and advancing into the water, principally tarfas, or tamarisks, and willows. Fish were frequently seen: ducks, storks, and a multitude of other birds rose from the reeds and osiers, or plunged into the thickets of oleander and tamarisk which fringed the banks: beyond were frequent groves of the wild pistachio.

At eight in the evening they reached the head of the falls and whirlpool of Bukah, near which they encamped for the night. Here are two ruined villages, one known as Delhemiyeh, the other Bukah. They were destroyed, it is said, by the Beduins. Many of the villages on or near the river were inhabited by Egyptians, placed there by Ibrahim Pasha to repress the incursions of the Arabs. Now that the strong arm of the Egyptian bull-dog, as Stephens aptly calls him, is withdrawn, the fate of these villages is not surprising. The Beduins, in their incursions, rob the Egyptian fellahin of their produce and the crops. Miserable and unarmed, the latter abandon their villages, and seek a more secure position, or trust to chance to supply themselves with food (for of raiment they

seem to have no need), until the summer brings the harvest and the robber. Once abandoned, their huts fall into as much ruin as they are susceptible of, which is nothing more than the washing away of the roofs by the winter rains. The whole route through the day ran through an extensive plain, luxuriant in vegetation, and presenting to view, in uncultivated spots, richness of alluvial soil, the produce of which, with proper culture, might nourish a vast population. The average width of the river during the day had been forty yards, the depth from two and a half to six feet.

The course of the river the next day was characterized by a succession of cascades and rapids more formidable than those which had been passed the previous day. Nothing preserved the boats from going to pieces upon the rocks excepting the fact that they were made of metal. During the afternoon they passed the mouth of the Yermak (Hieromax), forty yards wide, with moderate current. Not long after the old bridge came into sight. Near this stood a cliff, which Lynch climbed in order to reconnoitre the river. The crest was crowned by a ruined khan, while at the foot of the hill large masses of volcanic rock or tufa were lying about, as if shaken from the solid mass by the spasm of an earthquake. The khan had evidently been a solid structure, and destroyed by some convulsion, so scattered were the thick and ponderous masses of masonry. The bridge gracefully spans the river at this point. It has one large and three smaller Saracenic arches below, and six smaller ones above them,—four on the east, and two on the west side. The river, deep, narrow, and impetuous, flows through the larger arch, and immediately branches, the left arm rushing down a nearly perpendicular fall of about eight feet, and scarcely a boat's length ahead encountering the bold rock of the eastern bank, which deflects it sharply to the right. The right branch, winding by an island in the centre, and spreading over a great space, is shallow, and breaks over a number of rocks.

Above and below the bridge, and in the bed of the river, are huge blocks of trap and conglomerate; and almost immediately opposite is a great fissure exposing perpendicular layers of basalt, the structure distinct, black, and porous. Upon the left bank, which is about sixty feet above the river, a

short distance up, were twenty or thirty black Beduin tents, with a number of camels grazing around,—the men seated in groups; the women, the drudges of each tribe, passing to and fro, busied apparently in culinary preparations. Just below the bridge they encamped for the night. The only tributary which had been passed thus far was the Yermak, coming in from the east, as wide and as deep nearly as the Jordan. The bridge is on the road from Nablus, through Beisan to Damascus.

The next day the party reached the utmost limits of cultivation, and approached the lower Ghor, a perfect desert, traversed by warlike tribes. On the first heights of the Ghor, to the eastward, is the village Sidumad; the village Jumah is on the western bank.

There are evidently two terraces to the Jordan, and through the lower one the river runs its labyrinthine course. From the stream, above the immediate banks, there is on each side a singular terrace of low hills, like truncated cones; this is but the bluff terminus of an extended table-land, reaching quite to the base of the mountains of Hauran on the east, and the high hills on the western side. The peculiarity of form is attributable, perhaps, to the washing of rain through a long series of years. The hill-sides presented the appearance of chalk, without the slightest vestige of vegetation, and were absolutely blinding from the reflected sunlight. At times the boats were perfectly becalmed, the trees and bushes which lined the banks intercepting the light air that came down from the mountains, when, even at this early season (April), the heat was intense; and the birds, ceasing to sing, hid themselves among the foliage, from which the noise of the boatmen did not startle them.

The first hour of the journey, which was through a most beautiful tract of alluvial, the country was entirely destitute of cultivation; nothing but a rank luxuriance of thistles and wild grass indicating the natural productiveness of the soil. The variety of thorns and thistles was remarkable. Along the banks of the river ran a singular terrace of low hills, in shape like truncated cones, which extended quite to the base of the mountains. From thistles and wild grass they advanced into utter barrenness and desolation, the soil presenting the appear-

ance of chalk, without the slightest vegetation. Around and quite near were large flocks of storks, in no manner alarmed or disconcerted; some even stood on one leg, in quiet contemplation of the unusual spectacle which the caravan presented.

That night they camped two hours' distance from Beisan, where we take leave of the party for the present.

DISCURSION II.

THE FIRST EASTERN TRIBUTARY OF THE JORDAN—THE YARMUK OR SHERIAT EL MANDARA (HIEROMAX)—OM KEIS (GADARA)—THE HOT SPRINGS OF HAMATH OR AMATTA.

It is to the bold Burckhardt that we owe the identification, in 1812,[1] of the ruins of Gadara and the hot springs in their neighbourhood. Since then the place has been visited and described by Irby, Mangles, and Buckingham.[2]

The first important tributary of the Jordan, directly south of Lake Tiberias, and about two hours distant from it, enters the river directly below the ruined village of el-Bukah. It is the Hieromax of Pliny, "Gadara Hieromace præfluente." Strabo and Ptolemy made no allusion to it. In the Talmud it is mentioned under the name of the Jarmoch,[3] whence springs the appellation Jarmuk,[4] which has become common among the Arabs, and which Edrisi uses as early as the twelfth century. It was probably not a boundary river in the old Hebrew times, for its name is never met in the biblical writings. It receives the name which is now generally given to it (the Menadra) from an Arab tribe dwelling on its banks, the Menadhere. The name Sheriat, which is joined with this, is one which it shares with other rivers, and indicates a ford which is used as a watering-place,—a name which is also applied to the Jordan in consequence of the passage of the

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* pp. 270-274.

[2] Dr Anderson, a member of the American Dead Sea Expedition, is a still more recent explorer. His account may be found in Lynch's volume. —ED.

[3] Lightfoot, *Opp. omn.* in *Centuria Chorogra.* cap. iv. fol. 173.

[4] Edrisi, in Jaubert, T. i. p. 338; Abulfedæ *Tabul. Syr.* ed. Koehler, fol. 148.

Israelites through it. The Jordan is distinguished from the Sheriat Menadra by the appellation el-Kebir, *i.e.* the great river; it is very seldom called by the Arabs the Jordan, or in the older form, el-Urdan.

The head waters of the Sheriat el Menadra, or Mandhur, issue from the distant tracts of the Jebel Hauran and of Jolan (Auranitis and Gaulonitis), although it may be a little difficult to tell at what precise spot to localize their source. Burckhardt names four tributaries, the most northern one of which is the Hereir, whose fountain-head is in the swampy tract near Tell Dilly, on the pilgrim road south of Damascus, between the two stations el-Szanamein and Shemskein, on the border line of Jeidur (Ituræa) at the north, Jolan (Gaulonitis) in the west, and Hauran (Auranitis) in the east. Only the smaller tributaries from Jolan—Wadi Moakkar, Wadi Hamy Sakker, and Wadi Aallan, which are crossed on the route from Feik by way of Nowa to Damascus—lie west of the Hereir; the other two known ones are on the east. The one is the Nahr Rokad, which flows through eastern Jolan, not far from Ain Shakhab; and the other is the Buj, and comes from Mezereib.

The springs near the place last mentioned, the first castle south of Damascus, and three hours south of Shemskein, are well known on account of their abundant supply of water and fish. The spot is a favourite stopping-place for caravans on the way to Mecca; they make the final preparations for entering on the great march through the Syrian and Arabian deserts. These springs, whose waters, when they come together, form a lake half an hour in circumference,[1] and flow into el-Buj, are, if not the most distant, at least the best known and the most abundant feeders of the river which takes the name Sheriat not far from Abiela, and which subsequently passes the sites of that ancient city and Capitolias. Its shores are tilled by the Menadhere Arabs, who live in tents and move from place to place, but never forsake the river: they sow wheat and barley, and in their gardens raise grapes, citrons, pomegranates, and many kinds of vegetables, which they sell in the villages of Jolan and Hauran.

As we go westward the river-bed becomes narrower, and is closely hemmed in between the rocks on both sides. In this

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* pp. 241-246.

cleft, and north of the height on which are the ruins of Om Keis (Gadara), lies the long row of the hot and very profuse medicinal springs of the Gadarenes, among which that of Hammet esh Sheikh is one of the chief. From this point the river runs in a north-westerly direction, following the rocky valley; and after pursuing a course of two or three hours' duration, it enters the Jordan. The Sheriat is full of fish, its course is rapid, its shores thickly overgrown with oleander; its breadth, where it enters the Jordan, is stated by Burckhardt[1] to have been about thirty-five paces in May; its depth, four or five feet.

As the lower course of the Sheriat el Mandhur is of especial interest in connection with its history and natural history, I shall connect the discussion of it with that of the Jordan valley.

Om Keis, *i.e. Mater astutiæ*, is the modern name of a great village which lies west of the district of Kefarat, and near the highest part of the ridge which bounds the valley of Lake Tiberias and the Jordan on the east; with its hot springs, it lies far above the deep cleft through which the Sheriat flows, about an hour's distance north of the ruins. The southern declivity of Om Keis is bounded by the small Wadi Araba, which runs westward into the Jordan parallel with the Sheriat according to some authorities, or, according to Burckhardt,[2] terminating the Sheriat itself before it enters the Jordan. The place, which was discovered by Seetzen,[3] and called by him Mkes (an abbreviated form of Om Keis), is said to lie on the summit of a mountain, formed by the junction of the Sheriat valley and Wadi el Arab. He found the steep sides of the mountain, to which he ascended from the cavernous southern side called Jadar, *i.e.* Gadara, to be composed of limestone, with frequent deposits of flint. He regarded the Sheriat as the natural geological boundary of the basalt region of Jolan and Hauran on the north, and of the limestone[4] of Jebel Ajlun and Jilead on the south.

The name Jedur, which Seetzen found current among the shepherds[5] on the south-east slope of the mountain, would indicate that the ancient Gadara was in the neighbourhood, even if

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 273. [2] *Ibid.* p. 271.
[3] Seetzen, in *Mon. Corresp.* xviii. pp. 417–420.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 353. [5] *Ibid.* p. 357.

the Roman architecture on the summit did not confirm the same when taken in connection with Pliny's and Jerome's statements. The former says: Gadara Hieromace præfluente; the latter, under the word Gadara, says: Urbs trans Jordanem contra Scythopolim et Tiberiadem, ad orientalem plagam sita, in monte ad cujus radices aquæ calidæ erumpunt, balneis super ædificatis. Although the name Jedur is given to a large part of the Hauran territory east of Om Keis, and upon the north bank of the Sheriat, and therefore seems to denote the province in whose midst the ruins and hot springs lie, yet this cannot affect the name of the ruin itself; and all the grounds which have been adduced to disprove the location of Gadara at this place are, as Leake and Gesenius show, without any real worth. Leake[1] remarks that Burckhardt was not able to make the distance of the ruins of Om Keis from the Hieromax and the hot baths harmonize with the position of Gadara; but Eusebius and Jerome say explicitly that the hot springs are not in close proximity with Gadara, but some distance away, at the foot of the mountain on which the ruins lie. In another place we are told in the *Onomasticon*, "est et alia villa in vicinia Gadaræ, nomine Amatha, ubi Calidæ aquæ erumpunt," perhaps the Hammath, *i.e.* hot baths, of Josh. xix. 35, which Keil[2] holds to be identical with Tiberias. This is enough to set Burckhardt's doubts aside. According to Josephus, the city was restored by Pompey, and taken subsequently by Vespasian: Strabo[3] does not know the place, and confounds it with Gaza; Pliny locates it in the Decapolis of Peræa; and Josephus calls it the Metropolis Perææ, which the coins also confirm. The place attracts great interest to itself in consequence of the healing of the man possessed of demons (Matt. viii. 28, Mark v. 1, Luke viii. 26);[4] and there can be no doubt, says Gesenius, that the caves which are described here by travellers are the same in which the people similarly afflicted concealed themselves. Reland has mentioned the high esteem in which the baths were held in the first centuries of the Christian era.

[1] Leake, Pref. to Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. iv.; Gesenius' Note to Burckhardt, i. p. 427.

[2] Keil, *Comment. zu Josua*, p. 353.

[3] Grosskurd, Note to Strabo, Pt. iii. p. 260, Not. 1.

[4] Von Raumer, *Pal.* p. 240. (Tristram, p. 458.)

Seetzen describes only in general terms the ruins of Mkes which he discovered, and ascribes them to some finely built and rich city of ancient times. This, he thinks, is made evident not only by the remains of pillars and buildings, but also by the large number of sarcophagi, many of which are profusely decorated with figures in relief, and with carved garlands. They have in many cases been remarkably well preserved. It surprised Seetzen to find that all of these were made of basalt, probably brought from Jolan. He discovered at Mkes several large and finely wrought caves, but not a single house. A half-dozen families were living in caves, whose size he was not able to measure on the outside; he only learned how really spacious they were by going inside one, where he was hospitably entertained by the occupants. In order to assure himself of the identity of these remains with those of the ancient Gadara, which had once been so celebrated for its baths that they were thought to be only surpassed in the whole Roman empire by those of Baiæ, Seetzen inquired where they were, and discovered their locality at the foot of the mountain on the north side, and an hour's distance away, though but a few steps from the river Sheriat. He saw the steam arise from the hot springs, but he could not reach them, the river being so much swollen by the long-continued rains as to be unfordable.

Burckhardt[1] came in May 1812, from Hauran westward, by way of Abil and Hebras, reaching Om Keis on his way. Here he was surprised to find an entire mountain covered with ancient ruins, although only the summit bore the traces of a compact city. He seems to have heard nothing while there of the hot springs near by, for he returned from the Jordan the next day to make a special examination of them. He found the same caves and sarcophagi which had been mentioned by Seetzen: of the latter he counted seventy. On the summit there were several hewn stones and fragments, but no perfect buildings. On the west and north-west sides of the mountain he saw the remains of two great amphitheatres, one of which lay very deeply hollowed out of the steep sloping rock, with a very small arena, but with seats, ascending so high that the uppermost row is forty feet above the lowest. The more western of the two theatres was in much the best state of preservation.

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* pp. 271–273.

The largest part of the ruins were to be seen still farther west on a tract of level ground, where along a paved street there could be seen a large number of shattered pillars, capitals, and fragments of temples. With the exception of the two theatres and a single column, which were of grey granite, Burckhardt found all the architectural remains to be of the indigenous limestone which constitutes all the mountain land south of the Sheriat as far as to Wadi Zerka. He (in this agreeing with Seetzen) found in the whole Jebel Ajlun as far as to Beni Obeid no more black basalt; and only on the way from Hebras to Om Keis, on the south shore of the Sheriat, did he see the last alternating layers of basalt and limestone. It is quite clear that the ravine into which the lower Sheriat flows is only a break in the basaltic rock, through which also the hot springs have been able to cleave a way for themselves.

Burckhardt's visit the next day to these springs has made us able to understand their location. He found[1] the first one lying about an hour and three-quarters distant from Szammagh, where he had spent the intervening night. The river flows through a deep bed, having banks of basalt in some places a hundred feet high, to whose black sides the green upon the top forms a very striking contrast. The smell of sulphur is perceptible a hundred paces off from the springs. Grass and bushes grow thickly around, and a few old palms are also seen. The main spring jets from a basin forty feet in circumference, five feet in depth, and surrounded by walls which have partly fallen in: the brook which runs away to the Sheriat is so hot that one can hardly bear to dip the hand into it; it covers the stones with a thick sulphureous crust, which the Arabs detach to rub their horses down with. The basin was originally cemented and covered, but of the structure which surmounted it only a few fragments and a broken pillar remain; all the large rocks have been much affected by the power of the steam. This spring bears the name of Hammet es Sheikh, and is said to be the hottest one of all. Only a few steps away is another spring of a lower temperature, but surrounded with ruins of some ancient structure there: this is called Hammet er Rih, and is connected subterraneously with the larger spring. Burckhardt learned that there are eight similar fountains, and

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* pp. 276-278.

that the most distant of them is two and a half hours farther from the Jordan than the first. They are said to be found upon both sides of the river. It is to be regretted that since that time no naturalist[1] has carefully examined these interesting springs. Burckhardt learned that in the month of April the largest spring, Hammet es Sheikh, is visited by many sick people of the adjacent country for the sake of its medicinal qualities: they even come from places as far away as Nablus and Nazareth, and stay as long as two weeks there: the place is considered even preferable to the springs at Tiberias. Antoninus Martyr visited[2] the baths of Gadara about the year 600, and calls them Thermæ Heliæ; he says that they were much visited by persons afflicted with leprosy. Eunapius of Sardes, the rhetorician and physician, who lived towards the beginning of the fifth century, says that two of the smaller fountains were called Eros and Anteros; in the Talmud they are named the warm baths of Gadara; Eusebius and Josephus call them Amath and Amatha (Hamath). Irby and Mangles, who visited Om Keis[3] in 1818, spent the night in one of the holes—which was large enough, according to their report, to shelter thirty men—with a family which received them very hospitably. Their stable was at the farther end of the long catacomb, while they occupied the hither extremity. In ascending the hill they found remains of the ancient city walls, and the cemented pavement of the streets so well preserved in many places, that the marks of wheels could in some places be seen. The main avenue was accompanied throughout its length by rows of pillars. The ancient necropolis could be made out on the northern side, where the clefts, excavated to a considerable depth in the rock, and guarded by swinging doors, showed the site of former sepulchres. These doors in some cases were still swinging upon stone hinges. On the outside panels were carved and adorned. The result of a visit to the baths was only to confirm the

[1] Dr Anderson, a naturalist who accompanied Lynch's expedition, was prevented by the want of time from even seeing them at all, although he made a hasty visit to the ruins on the hill. The necessity of pressing with all haste down the Jordan rendered such a course imperative. See also Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 458.—ED.

[2] *Itinerar. Beati Antonini Mart. ex Musc. Cl. Menardi*, 1640, 4, 5.

[3] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* Lett. iv. pp. 296–298.

account of Burckhardt; yet the temperature of the chief springs was found to be lower than it had been observed at Tiberias, and the crust on the hottest basin was rubbed by the Arabs upon the skins of their camels.

The most critical antiquarian researches[1] which have been made in our time into the architecture of Gadara, as well as in other places in Peræa, have been made by Mr Banks, who was accompanied by Buckingham. The latter, however, made use of extracts and copies of drawings made from the papers of the former by a seaman, evidently of good intelligence and skill, but with no knowledge of science or art. To those Buckingham has appended an immense mass of irrelevant quotations, and a tedious narrative of his own, filling forty-four pages upon Gadara alone. Whatever worth they have, is to be attributed to the extracts made from Banks. It is most deeply to be regretted, for the sake of science, that the latter still persists in withholding from the public the extremely valuable results of his own observations.

I will detach from Buckingham's pages only a few observations.[2] Among the three first sepulchre caves which are met in entering the city from the east, the stone door of the third was in a state of perfect preservation. On entering the place, the first chamber was found to be seven feet high, twelve paces long, and ten broad; then came a second chamber, measuring ten by twelve feet, and regularly hewn. The portal, architrave, and doors are all of the same black basalt out of which the sarcophagi are made. The architrave is adorned with three roughly-sculptured busts, with bare head, full face, and prominent ears.

There were other caves of similar aspect: one with ten niches for coffins, and smaller ones for the reception of lamps: the architrave of this one was decorated externally with a garland. In many of the vaults sarcophagi were found. The greatest number of these, however, were to be seen scattered around over the top of the hill: they were all of black basalt, and were adorned with garlands, busts of Apollo, and little Cupids; also with family coats of arms. Other orna-

[1] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* Lett. iv. pp. 296–298; *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxvi. p. 389; comp. Gesenius' Burckhardt, Pt. i. Note, pp. 530, 537.

[2] Buckingham, *Trav. in Pal.* vol. ii. chap. xxiii. pp. 252–296.

ments were wanting. There were fully two hundred perfect sarcophagi counted here, not to speak of the countless fragments which strewed the ground.

The city, whose ruins extend from east to west half an English mile, and a quarter of a mile from north to south, displays on the east a portal of the ancient gate. Beneath passed the main street, running westward, fifteen paces broad, and paved in the most admirable manner with black basalt blocks. It runs for the most part past colonnades of Roman and Corinthian pillars, while the remains of others are also scattered around. There are also the relics of temples and two theatres, to which may be added another near the baths. So many are the proofs of ancient splendour and of a dense population, where now there is almost unbroken solitude! Burckhardt saw not a soul in Om Keis, Buckingham only a few families in the tombs, while at the northern side of the village, and on the site of the ancient necropolis, there are only pitiful hovels, constructed mostly of the fragments of broken sarcophagi. He reckoned the whole population as two hundred souls; and their wandering through the tombs recalled vividly to his mind those Gadarenes mentioned in Luke viii. 27, who did not dwell in houses, but in tombs.

In one of these a waggon-maker had taken up his abode: in another, which was adorned with an elegant architrave, and an admirably constructed stone door, which moved lightly on its hinges, was a cistern to which a flight of steps descended, and by its side a vault: in one apartment twelve feet square stood a perfect sarcophagus, which had been converted into a meal-chest and a receptacle of other provisions. The people of the place had a different physiognomy from other Arabs—not so dark as the swarthy Beduins, who are always exposed to the weather, but with a strongly marked African cast of features. The women had curly hair, thick lips, and prominent teeth. They insisted that their stock had always inhabited the neighbourhood of these springs. They had neither horses, camels, goats, nor sheep, but the finest herds of buffaloes and dogs.

Buckingham visited[1] the springs as well: he found the tents of some Beduins in the neighbourhood. The northern

[1] Buckingham, *Trav. l.c.* ii. pp. 297–308.

shore of the Sheriat has, he says,[1] a dark, fruitful soil, which is here and there tilled.[2]

DISCURSION III.

THE THREE NORTH-WESTERLY TRIBUTARIES OF THE JORDAN BETWEEN LAKE TIBERIAS AND BEISHAN—WADI EL FEJAZ WITH ARD EL HAMMA—WADI EL BIREH WITH MOUNT TABOR—WADI OESCHE WITH JEBEL ED DAHI, OR THE SMALLER HERMON.

South of the confluence of the Jordan with the Yarmuk, the valley widens and displays an oasis-like fertility and beauty. On the western bank lies the only place of importance, Beishan. Burckhardt, in his cross journey from Nazareth to Abu Obeida and Szalt, paid particular attention to the district which we are about to describe; Irby, Mangles, and others, followed him over much the same route which he himself took. In one day,[3] July 2, 1812, Burckhardt passed with a caravan from Nazareth across the south-eastern end of the plain of Jezreel, passing Mount Tabor, and a number of fountains near Endor and Om et Taybe, on his direct road to Beishan, reaching, after about seven hours, the village of Merassrass, at the top of a row of hills, whence begins the descent from the plateau to the depression or Ghor in which the Jordan lies.

North of the village just mentioned is the Wadi el Bireh, which runs from the south base of Tabor to the Jordan; and south of the village is Wadi Oesche, whose general course is

[1] Dr Anderson, who has already been mentioned as hastily examining the ruins of Gadara, has added nothing of material importance to the accounts already cited. His description of the theatre, cited from his manuscript notes in *Lynch's Dead Sea Expedition*, p. 197, is more full than that of the others. According to his report, it is half oval in shape, and the short diameter, *i.e.* the length of the enclosed space, is about eighty feet, the entire diameter about a hundred and twenty feet. At the upper edge of each step is a cornice several inches in breadth. The seats are interrupted by five passages, converging towards the centre of the open space below. Exterior to the seats are three concentric walls, furnishing a covered corridor of eighteen or twenty feet width within, and an outer opening occupied by staircases ascending to the upper gallery, on a level with the hinder seats.—ED.

[2] See also Buckingham, *Trav.* ii. p. 308; and von Raumer, *Pal.* p. 44.

[3] Burckhardt, *Trav.* pp. 342-344.

the same. North of Wadi el Bireh there is only one tributary of the Jordan known to us to come in from the west, the Wadi el Fejas, which runs from the northern side of Mount Tabor. South of the Wadi Oesche is the Wadi Beishan, which passes through the midst of the town bearing that name, carrying fertility and beauty wherever it goes.

These four tributaries—Wadi el Fejas, Wadi el Bireh, Wadi Oesche, and Wadi Beishan, all of which flow into the Jordan from the west—do not merit the name of Sheriat, like the Mandera; but are, in truth, mere wadis, having a temporary stream during the rainy season, and therefore not without influence on the adjacent valleys, hills, and villages. On this account, I cannot omit to speak of them before coming to describe the geographical character of Beishan. The district which they drain forms a considerable part of the basin of the middle Jordan; and the ready access which they afford to the hill country of Galilee, has always given them great historical importance.[1]

All the four wadis named above run in almost parallel lines to the great Jordan depression; their course being short and the descent rapid from the long mountain chain, which presents itself here, in the region south of Galilee, in a more plateau-shaped and broadly-arched form than in the most elevated districts of Samaria and Galilee. The springs which feed them are found upon the watershed line between the Ghor and the Mediterranean: their waters, pouring as they do into a stream lying from eight hundred to a thousand feet deeper than the sea-level, and having so short a course, must run with proportionately greater violence than those which, like the Kishon, debouch on the western coast. The line of watershed is not a straight, but a very winding one, connecting the three mountain groups standing on the common plateau, Tabor, the smaller Hermon (more correctly Jebel el Dahy), and Jebel Gilboa. These mountains form the arc of a circle on the eastern side of the plain of Esdraelon; but they are disconnected from each other by the wadis alluded to above, and converted into little isolated systems, the line of direction in each of which does not run north and south, but parallel with the wadis, *i.e.* from north-west to south-east.

[1] See Hammer-Purgstall in *Wien. Jahrb.* 1836, vol. lxxiv. p. 46.

1. *Wadi el Fejas, and its head springs in the Ard el Hamma.*

The most northern of the wadis named takes its rise north-north-east of Mount Tabor, between it and the mountain chain west of Lake Tiberias, and flows south-eastward from the village of Hattin, on the northern edge of the plain Ard el Hamma,[1] plunging at last rapidly down to the Jordan valley.

This elevated plain, the Ard el Hamma, although covered with basaltic fragments,[2] has a very fruitful soil, and yields fine crops of dhurra, although in dry seasons the ground opens with wide cracks, whence thistles and thorns spring with great rapidity. Burckhardt says of the plain, that a large portion of it is overgrown with the wild artichoke, which produces a small blue flower, which has been considered by some the "lily of the field" referred to by the Saviour.

The road from Tabor to Damascus crosses the plain Ard el Hamma, and passes the Khan el Tudjar, where every Monday the peasants meet and have a market,[3] Kefr Sabt, Subieh, and Hattin, the last named lying near the double-horned and saddle-shaped pass known as the Kurun Hattin. These two knobs, between which passes the road leading northward, rise only about sixty or eighty feet above the plain, whose elevation above the sea is estimated at about a thousand feet. The northern part of the plain in the neighbourhood of the Kurun Hattin has a deep historical interest: for here it was that the Sultan Saladin gained so complete a victory in the year 1187 over the army of the crusaders,[4] that the latter never recovered from it, and were soon compelled to withdraw entirely from Palestine. A modern legend, entirely unfounded, however, has made this place the scene of the miracle which supplied five thousand persons with bread.

North-west of the village of Subieh may be seen the little hamlets of Turan and Kefr Kenna,[5] the latter of which, lying

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 333; Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 369; Russegger, *Reise*, iii. p. 130.

[2] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 333; Buckingham, ii. pp. 321–323.

[3] Buckingham, *Trav. in Pal.* ii. pp. 320–322; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 108, 305.

[4] Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreutzzüge*, iii. p. 282; Reinaud, in Michelet, *Extr.* iv. p. 194; Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 375–485.

[5] Robinson, *Bib. Researches*, ii. pp. 346–352.

five miles north-east of Nazareth, has been erroneously considered the Cana of Galilee mentioned in John ii. The brooks of this place flow westward, while those of Subieh enter the Jordan. The watershed line therefore crosses the plain on the north side of Tabor, and is undistinguishable with the naked eye.

2. *The Wadi el Bireh and Mount Tabor.*

This wadi is the second of the tributaries of the Jordan which come in from the west, below Lake Tiberias. It takes its name from the village of Bireh, which it passes, and begins at the southern base of Tabor, the celebrated mountain which rises on the western boundary of the Jordan valley, and which is the more carefully to be observed, because, while it is the most characteristic peak which dominates over the Ghor, it forms a barrier between it and the great plain of Jezreel or Ezraelon. This slopes gradually to the Mediterranean, and is traversed by the Kishon, a not unimportant stream, whose head waters spring from the north and west base of Tabor, giving it all the character of a watershed mountain, and conferring the same physical peculiarity upon the surrounding plain.

Tabor, whose etymological meaning appears to be *umbilicus*,[1] was called by the Greeks Atabyrion, and is designated by the Arabs of the present day as Jebel Tor, or the mountain. And really it deserves this title of pre-eminence, as the most isolated[2] and most prominent landmark of all Galilee, its cone-shaped figure being seen from all sides[3] towering above the plain, and the low hills which stand near it. Although it only rises about eight hundred feet above the plain called Ard el Hamma, at its north-eastern base; only about six hundred feet above Nazareth, a little to the north of west of it; although it rises but very slightly above Jebel ed Duhy or the smaller Hermon at the south, and reaches[4] only a height of seventeen hundred and fifty Paris feet above the sea; yet its relative position to the

[1] Reland, *Pal.* pp. 331-336; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterthk.* p. 105; also Note 10, p. 133; von Raumer, *Pal.* pp. 37-39.

[2] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 334.

[3] Roberts, *La Terre Sainte*, liv. ix. Vign. 25: *Le Mont Thabor.*

[4] Russegger, *Reise*, iii. p. 159; Steinheil, in *Gel. Aus. d. Bayer. Akad. d. W.* 1840, No. 47, p. 383.

country around it leaves the impression that it is twice as high as it really is.[1] Jerome says of it: Thabor, terminus Zabulon; mons in medio Galilææ, mira rotunditate, sublimis, etc. It was the boundary between the tribes of Zebulon and Issachar (Josh. xix. 12, 22). The Chisloth Tabor which Joshua mentions was a place which lay at the north-west base of the mountain, and was sometimes reckoned in the territory of one tribe, and sometimes in that of another.[2] In Ps. lxxxix. 12, the glory of Tabor is compared with that of Hermon. On the north side, from Khan el Tudshar, Burckhardt required three hours to climb the mountain. Wilson, who ascended by the same way, discovered above the khan, and not far from it, a spring,[3] whose waters flow from the north-east side of the mountain, wind around its base, and enter the right fork of the Wadi el Bireh on the south side. From this spring the observer can see that Tabor is not a perfect cone, as it has been commonly supposed, but that its longer axis extends from east to west. The isolation of this mountain has doubtless been the reason for its being made by the earlier ecclesiastics the scene of the transfiguration of the Saviour, described in Mark ix. 2: "Jesus taketh with Him Peter, and James, and John, and leadeth them up into a high mountain apart by themselves." Reland[4] and Wilson have placed beyond doubt the fact, that the word "apart" refers not to the solitary position of the mountain, but to the seclusion of the disciples themselves. Both endeavour strenuously to show that the Mount of Transfiguration was in the neighbourhood of Hermon and Cæsarea Philippi. The New Testament does not throw any light upon the matter; the very earliest legend places the scene of the transfiguration on the Mount of Olives, near Jerusalem.[5] It is only since the time of Cyrillus and Jerome that Tabor has been connected with this sacred episode in the life of the Saviour. Eusebius, the predecessor of both, describes Tabor, but he evidently knows nothing of such a legend; for assuredly he would not

[1] Volney, *Reise*, ii. p. 172.

[2] Keil, *Comment. über Josua*, pp. 338, 343.

[3] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 331; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 90, 107; von Raumer, *Pal.* p. 123.

[4] Reland, *Pal.* p. 335; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 100, Note 3.

[5] *Itin. Anton. Aug. et Hierosolymitanum*, ed. Parthey, 1848.

have passed by it in silence, if the tradition existed in his time. The historical data which we possess, show that the summit of the mountain was employed, without any intermission, between the times of Antiochus Magnus, 218 B.C., and the destruction of Jerusalem under Vespasian, as a stronghold, and was by no means the scene of peace and solitude whither one would flee, anxious to escape the turmoil of the world. The consecration which quiet and seclusion give was only reached after the fortresses which once crowned its summit had been laid low, and all Palestine had become a scene of desolation, and the home of idle, legendary fancies. The architectural remains now to be seen upon the summit confirm the account of the character of the fortifications which it once sustained; and in addition to that evidence, we have the statements furnished by the crusaders regarding the devastations made by the Saracens under Sultan Saladin in 1187, and Sultan Bibar in 1263. The latter converted the whole into a scene of utter desolation; and so it remains to the present day.[1]

The most common ascent of Tabor is from Nazareth, the north-west side. This is also the easiest ascent, because the height of the adjacent plain is greater than on the north-east side. The path, at first tolerably level,[2] and then ascending in a serpentine course, is beautified by varieties of grass, and by overshadowing oaks and thickets of bushes, in which von Schubert[3] heard, on the 19th of April, countless birds singing their morning song, awakening within him the solemn thought, that here once walked Jesus. Tabor rose before him, arrayed in its mantle of forests, and isolated from all its neighbours, like an altar in a plain; and even if it were not the hallowed mountain on which Peter heard the voice from heaven (2 Pet. i. 18), yet it was the place alluded to in the inspired words of the Psalmist: "The north and the south, Thou hast created them; Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in Thy name" (Ps. lxxxix. 12).

At the left of the road running north-westward there runs a low range of hills, which form the natural connection between Tabor and the heights around Nazareth. Over the top of this

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 362–369.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 350; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 100.
[3] Von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. pp. 173–180.

range runs a road which was taken by Robinson, while Wilson and von Schubert pursued the one first named. This is the great Damascus route, and passes by the little village of Daburi, the Dabira of Eusebius and Jerome, the Dabaritta of Josephus, and, it may be, the Deberath which, according to Josh. xix. 12, belonged to Issachar. And since the popular belief has transferred to Tabor the scene of the healing of the son who was a lunatic, and whose father brought him to the Saviour, Raphael has with fine judgment and taste introduced the summit of Tabor and the angelic personages upon it into his picture of the Transfiguration, and secured for it that immortality which so perfect a work of art can give. Von Schubert tells us that the direct ascent of the mountain begins near the ruins of a Christian church, and is at first steep and difficult. One does not need to go more than a third of the way to the top before he discerns the round wooded summit which, when reached, proves to be a small plain slightly inclining westward. The path up is extremely circuitous, and in some places too steep to ride over. It usually takes from an hour and a quarter to an hour and a half to reach the summit. Tabor is clothed with woods to the very top—one of the greatest rarities among the mountains of Syria.[1] The dark green of the walnut, the slim azederach, the rose-bushes, the yellowish white styrax blossoms, the pistachio and oak trees; all these and many others beautify the path to the very summit, where a view of immense extent, embracing Galilee, Samaria, Peræa, and extending as far northward as the snow-crowned Hermon, richly repays the toil of the ascent.

Von Schubert ascertained the height of the valley in which Nazareth lies to be eight hundred and twenty-one feet above the sea, and that of the hills around to be from fifteen to sixteen hundred feet. The altitude of Esdraelon, at the foot of Tabor, is four hundred and thirty-nine feet above the sea-level,[2] while the surface of Lake Tiberias, on the eastern side of the plateau on which Tabor stands, is five hundred and thirty-five feet below the ocean-level. The summit of this mountain is, according to von Schubert's measurement, 1748 feet above the sea, or about 2283 feet above Lake Tiberias. Yet it is not the

[1] Russegger, *Reise*, iii. p. 129.

[2] Von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. pp. 168, 174, 177.

absolute height of Tabor, but its position in relation to the deep Jordan valley, and the great plain at its base, that gives it the appearance of an altitude which it does not possess. And one of the phenomena most striking to an observer standing upon Mount Tabor, is the sharp contrast of colour presented by the deep green broad plain just at its base, to the blinding white of the snow-crowned Anti-Lebanon, the intense blue of the mountains of Ephraim and Judæa, and the pale green of those of Gilboa. In this, and in the recollections suggested by many places in view from the summit, and in the inexhaustible varieties of natural beauty, there is enough to charm the spectator and bind him there with as strong a fascination as any Alpine prospect could do.[1]

Towards the north-east is to be seen the distant and lofty Jebel Sheikh; west of that, the high range of the Lebanon; still nearer, Jebel Safed, with the peak which the city of Safed crowns. Directly at the foot of Tabor, and in the same direction, is the most northern arm of the great, but here rolling, plain of Esdraelon, extending north-eastwardly as far as to Kurun Hattin, and north-westwardly as far as Sefurieh and Kana el Jelil, more or less dotted with hills, and animated with the villages and encampments of the Arabs. Only a small portion of Lake Tiberias is to be seen, although its outlines are distinctly marked. Behind it, and farther to the north-east, the high plateau of Jolan is clearly seen; farther south, the flat table-land of Hauran; and still farther south, Bashan and the mountains of Gilead, which in winter are capped with snow, but which in spring display even at a distance the same green pasture lands which they had in Moses' times. Moab rises sharply up from the horizon like an impassable wall, which, however, a nearer view would show to be rent with a thousand titanic seams.

In the direct neighbourhood of the mountain, the view north-eastwardly takes in only a small tract of the Jordan valley; for the Ghor is hid from sight by its high western wall. Even on the south, the situation of Beisan cannot be discerned, although the depressed valleys of Wadi el Bireh and Wadi

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 357–360; Russegger, *Reise*, iii. p. 130; Wilson, *Lands, etc.*, ii. pp. 104–106; Strauss, *Sinai und Golgotha*, pp. 401–403; Richter, *Wallfahrt.* p. 61; (Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 498.)

Beisan are in full view, and although the wider tract through which they pass before entering the Jordan may claim to be considered a part of the Jordan valley itself. Of the Dead Sea nothing is to be seen. Towards the south, Jebel et Dahi, or the smaller Hermon, shuts off the prospect, particularly of the mountains of Samaria; but as it is considerably lower than Tabor, it does not hide the heights of Gilboa. Wilson recognised with perfect distinctness, at the south foot of Tabor, the great depression[1] which runs from the village of Endor south-eastwardly to the Jordan. He heard the name Mirzah applied to the upper part,—a name which is with great probability connected with the same Meroz[2] which was cursed by Deborah (Judg. v. 23). Close by the beginning of Mirzah, whose waters flow into the Jordan, lie the sources of a small tributary of the Kishon.[3] Here, therefore, south of Tabor, the same phenomenon repeats itself which we have already observed in the Ard el Hamma, namely, the existence of the watershed line on the plains which lie between the groups of mountains just west of the Jordan.

On the northern slope of the smaller Hermon, or Jebel Dahi, are to be seen the villages of Dahi, Nain, and Endor, the latter of which have a deep religious interest. They lie in the upper valley of the Wadi el Bireh. From the summit of Tabor, Jebel Dahi is seen to have two peaks, of which the northern one is the less elevated: between the two there lies a high plain, whence runs Wadi Oeshe, parallel with Wadi el Bireh: in the summer time it is dry. Still farther south of Wadi Oeshe the depression of the Beishan valley is to be seen, running directly west from the Jordan to Ain Jalud, in the plain of Esdraelon, and at the north-western extremity of the Gilboa ridge. From this place, too, flows westwardly a tributary of the Kishon; and here, as on the plains farther north, the watershed follows the plains between the mountains.

The view westward from Tabor is no less interesting than that southward. Both give an impression with regard to the topographical character of the country far more accurate and satisfying than could be gained by traversing all its parts. The

[1] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, *l.c.* ii. p. 106; Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 355.

[2] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 90, 107.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 89, 90.

view westward extends diagonally across the broad and gently sloping plain of Jezreel or Esdraelon, the Merj Ibn Amer of the Arabs, about twenty miles in length and ten in breadth, according to Burckhardt. At its western end, above Lejun and Megiddo, tower the wooded heights of Carmel, whose altitude is almost precisely the same as that of Tabor, about 1500 feet; whence the conjunction of their names in Jer. xlvi. 18. The northern view is closed by the hills of Nazareth; but still farther north, there may be seen in the extreme distance, and under a favourable condition of the atmosphere, a line of silver—the Mediterranean Sea.

From this broad panoramic picture we turn to study more closely the place where we stand—the summit of Tabor. According to Burckhardt,[1] it is from one to two miles in circumference, and according to Robinson it is an elliptical plain, about a mile across in one direction, and about half a mile in another. At the south-western part there are a number of walls and ruins to be seen; the whole top is overgrown with grass and bushes, but the growth of trees does not extend beyond the edge. Wilson was surprised at finding a patch of oats upon the top; probably the last results of the settlement there early in the century of a number of Greek families, who had been driven from Hauran, and had taken refuge on the summit of Tabor.

The ruins on the top belong to different epochs. Around almost the whole of the edge can be seen the remains of a thick wall, composed of great stones, many of which are bevelled. These both Robinson and Wilson suppose to indicate the existence there of a strong fortress at a very early day. We know that even in the time of Deborah and Barak, Tabor was a stronghold, for here ten thousand men arrayed themselves against Sisera (Judg. iv. 6, 12). Polybius tells us that Antiochus Magnus fortified the summit of this mountain, 218 B.C. The principal ruins are found on the eastern and southern sides of the summit, and consist of a confused mass of walls, sepulchres, ditches, arches, and foundations of houses, many of the stones bevelled. There is to be seen also a pointed Saracenic arch built in the middle ages. It is called the gate of the winds. At the time of the Crusades, churches and convents were on

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 334; Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 352.

the top of Tabor,[1] and Willibald speaks of their existence there as early as the eighth century,[2] although there is no proof that the Empress Helena ever built a church there, as she is asserted by some to have done.

Burckhardt[3] observed that during the most of the summer the summit of Tabor was surrounded in the morning with thick clouds, which disappeared later in the day. He found more dew to fall there than anywhere else in Syria. Robinson observed the same phenomenon; and Maundrell[4] alludes expressly to the amount of moisture which he found on his tent in the morning in the plains of Jezreel. This phenomenon reminds us of the often-mentioned dew[5] of Hermon. How important it was regarded to the existence of vegetation on the neighbouring mountains of Gilead, may be seen by the prominence given to the falling of dew on the fleece of wool before Gideon's conflict with the Amalekites (Judg. vi. 37–39).

3. *Wadi Oesche and the Jebel ed Dahi, or Little Hermon.*

The valley known as Wadi Oesche is completely *terra incognita:* of its lower course we know nothing further than that Burckhardt[6] passed through it on his way from Endor to Beisan. It runs from a high plateau on Little Hermon, between its two peaks, and passes down its eastern slope, passing thence on to the Jordan. Jebel Dahi, the name applied by the Arabs to the mountain, appears to derive its name from that of the village of Dahi on its western slope. Burckhardt[7] paid little attention to the physical character of the valley as he passed through, and gave no names of localities; but the researches of Robinson did not leave even these undetermined; and as the result, we have on Kiepert's map the villages of Afleh, Salam el Fuleh, ed-Dahy, Endor, Nein, Tumrah, Um et Taiyibeh, Murussus, and Kumieh.

[1] Von Raumer, *Pal.* p. 38.

[2] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 358, 359.

[3] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 335.

[4] Maundrell, *Journ.* Oxon. p. 57.

[5] *Itin. Antonini*, ix. fol. mccxii., in Ugolini, *Thes.* vol. vii.; *ibid.* edit. Julimagi Audium, fol. 8.

[6] Burckhardt, *Trav.* Gesenius' ed. ii. p. 591; Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 356.

[7] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 242.

The name Little Hermon,[1] which is applied to Jebel ed Dahi, has been in use since the fourth century. It is not alluded to in the writings of the Old or New Testament. Jerome alludes to it twice, and erroneously connects with it the Hermon mentioned in Ps. lxxxix. 12, "Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in Thy name," having supposed that the conjunction of the two names was meant to correspond to the relation of the two mountains, which stand almost side by side. The Hermon alluded to there, as well as that spoken of in the plural form in Ps. xlii. 6, Hermonim [translated Hermonites in the Eng. version], refers unquestionably to the double-peaked Jebel es Sheikh. The false[2] application of the word Hermon quickly found favour with the ecclesiastics, and was adopted by them; but the Arabs of the country have never shown the slightest inclination to call Jebel Dahi by the name of Hermon. In fact, the mountain is neither massive nor high, neither beautiful nor fruitful; it is a barren, shapeless mass, its highest part lying towards the west: only the villages on its slope have any historical interest.

Endor is the ancient place of the same name, situated in the territories of Manasseh, where dwelt the soothsayer or "witch" consulted by Saul (1 Sam. xxviii. 7). It was also the place where Sisera was overthrown (Ps. lxxxiii. 9, 10). Its position has been discovered by recent explorers.

Nain, now a little hamlet, just south of the last-mentioned place, has been visited by pilgrims since the time of the Crusades, as the place where the young man mentioned in Luke vii. 11 lived.

To the west, but very near, are the villages of Dahi, from which the mountain derives its name, Fuleh[3] and Afuleh, now in a state of great decay, and standing at the western base, on the very border of the plain of Esdraelon, and at the line of watershed between Tabor and Jebel el Dahi. These places bore in the time of the Crusades the name Castellum Faba; they were in the common possession of the Hospitallers and the Templars, but were taken and sacked in 1187 by Sultan

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 326, and Rödiger, *Rec.*; comp. Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alter.* ii. Note 6, pp. 135–137.

[2] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 319, 320.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 328; Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreutz.* iii. pp. 231, 267.

Saladin. In modern times, the locality which Burckhardt[1] designates by the name of Fele was the scene of a battle between the French under General Kleber and the Turks, in which an army of 2000 men routed a Turkish army of 25,000. In 1843, Wilson, on passing through this neighbourhood, discovered the traces of ancient walls, which showed him conclusively that Jebel Dahi, like Tabor, was once fortified as a stronghold.[2]

Just here it is, at the western angle of Little Hermon, that the great Damascus road, running north-eastward, divides into two arms, the right one of which runs along the east foot of Tabor through the Wadi Bireh, to the Khan et Tujar (this is the road most travelled[3]), and the left follows the north-western side (mostly taken by Christian pilgrims who wish to visit Nazareth and ascend Tabor), meeting the other at the khan, and thenceforward making but one road. Tracing the Damascus road in the reverse direction, it runs from the west side of Tabor south-westward, passing the villages of Fuleh and Afuleh, which lie on the eastern margin of the plain of Jezreel, on the line of watershed[4] between the Mediterranean and the Jordan, which, as has already been remarked, is not to be traced at all with the eye. The level tracts which lie between the mountains described above, do not show even the slightest wave of land which would direct the tendency of the streams which rise there, yet they form the natural watershed notwithstanding. The village of Solam,[5] south-east of Fuleh, on the last southern bluff projecting from Little Hermon, and opposite to Zer'in, at the head waters of Wadi Beisan, is an insignificant, squalid cluster of houses, but which, from its position, commands the whole plain of Jezreel as far as Carmel. It is the Shunem which, with Jezreel and Chesulloth, was appointed to be the boundary of Issachar (Josh. xix. 18); it is also the place where the Philistines encamped when Saul had gathered all Israel on the mountains of Gilboa, and went for counsel in his despair to the sorceress of the neighbouring village of Endor (1 Sam. xxviii. 4). It is the

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 339.
[2] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 39.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 90.
[4] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 331.
[5] Von Raumer, *Pal.* p. 139.

Sunem whence the fair maid Abishag was brought to David (1 Kings i. 3); it was the home, too, of the widow who received Elijah in so hospitable a manner, and who afterwards rode across the plain of Esdraelon to Carmel, to implore him to restore the life of her son (2 Kings iv. 8–25). Eusebius speaks of Shulem as lying five Roman miles south of Tabor; which coincides well with the situation of the modern Solam, for the discovery of which we are indebted to Monro.

DISCURSION IV.

WADI BEISAN—THE CITY OF BEISAN AND THE MOUNTAINS OF JELBON OR GILBOA —ZER'IN, THE ANCIENT JEZREEL—THE SPRING OF JEZREEL—BETHSHEAN, *i.e.* SCYTHOPOLIS, BEISAN.

Burckhardt entered Wadi Beisan,[1] the fourth and most southern of the parallel transverse valleys, and passed up and down the whole wadi, without discovering the spring whence its waters flow. Irby and Mangles visited it while on the same road which Molyneux took from Lake Tiberias, and traversed[2] it southwards as far as the Jordan. No traveller since their day has followed Wadi Beisan to its source, and it remains a field for new discovery; for the greater number of tourists and explorers have merely passed by the spring at Jezreel, lying on the confines of the mountains of Gilboa and the plain of Esdraelon, because there passes the great Damascus road from Samaria *via* Jenin to Nazareth, as well as to Tabor and Tiberias. From this point we become acquainted with the mountains of Jilbon, the source of the Beisan stream, which springs here from its northern slope, and takes its course through the Wadi Beisan. There is also a road which leads directly from Jenin north-eastwardly[3] over the Gilboa range to Beisan, passing Fukua and Jilbon, the ancient Gilboa. At the west end of the range is the route taken by von Schubert[4] and Wilson, running northward to Nazareth, and passing Zer'in near the

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* Gesenius' ed. ii. pp. 591–595.

[2] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* pp. 301–304.

[3] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 316, 317.

[4] Von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. pp. 164–168; Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 315–331; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 84–91, 303, 304.

fountain of Jezreel. These travellers never went eastward into the Beisan valley farther than to a spring of which I shall speak in another place. The exploration of Wadi Beisan seems to be the more desirable, since it appears to be the deepest and flattest depression which connects the Mediterranean Sea with the Jordan valley.

There are only three points connected with the present division of our subject, of which, in the absence of sufficient authorities, I venture to speak: the first is Zer'in, or the ancient Jezreel; the second, the mountains of Gilboa; and the third, the city of Bethshean, the Scythopolis of the Greeks, and the Beisan of the present day.

1. *Zer'in, or the ancient Jezreel; the Fountain of Jezreel, in the upper part of Wadi Beisan.*

The junction of the Beisan valley, which at its western extremity is a broad plain, with the eastern part of the plain of Esdraelon, is so perfect that the watershed cannot be detected with the eye, and justifies the application of the term "Open Gate"[1] applied to it by von Raumer. It is indeed the natural transition between the great plain of Esdraelon and the flat and plain-like Wadi Beisan. The pillars of this gate may be said to be Jebel Dahi or Little Hermon on the one side, and the Gilboa mountains on the other. The existence of a broad open space connecting Esdraelon with the Jordan valley, is in entire variance with the generally accepted notion of an almost unbroken Syrian range running from north to south. Still Robinson declares[2] decisively that there is a plain of from two to three miles in width lying between Gilboa and Little Hermon, and stretching away eastward as far as the city of Beisan, whose acropolis-like site he could distinctly discern. Standing at Zer'in, he could see the blending of the two plains just before his eyes.

To mark the precise line of watershed would be impossible, for the eye can detect no visible sign of the blending of the eastern with the western plains. The line appears, however, to run northward from Zer'in past the villages of Fuleh and Afuleh, and south of Zer'in to the ruins of Sundela.

Coming from the south-west on the high road from Jenin,

[1] Von Raumer, *Pal.* p. 44.

[2] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 315–331.

one discovers, after passing Sundela, the village of Zer'in, from which the unbroken plain of Esdraelon or Jezreel extends westward[1] as far as the eye can reach. It was a surprise to Robinson, on reaching this place, to find himself standing on the brink of a precipice a hundred feet in height, and facing northward. This forms the abrupt termination of the mountains of Jilbon or Gilboa. At the foot lies the valley of Beisan, a plain two and a half miles in width, beyond which rises gradually Jebel Dahi or Little Hermon.

This village of Zer'in, at present in decay, and consisting of only a few houses standing among ruins, lies absolutely as well as relatively high, and commands a view of the Beisan plain on the east, and the Esdraelon plain on the west. The latter derives its name from that of the ancient city of Jezreel (Josh. xvii. 16), where it is spoken of as lying in a valley. The Jezreel of the Hebrews became the Ezdraelon of the Greeks and the Stradela[2] of the middle ages; the Arabs of the present day call it Zer'in. We know from the account of Eusebius that the territory designated by the Hebrew word Jezreel was exactly coincident with that called by the Greeks Ezdraelon. The Arab word Zer'in arose naturally from the old Hebrew form, since the last syllable, *el*, very often passes over into *en* and *in*,—for example, Israyen instead of Israel,—the weak aspirate *j* is lost, the *es* is transposed into *se* or *ze*, as is very often the case in Arabic words. The crusaders recognised the identity of the names,[3] and William of Tyre says that in his day Jezreel was known as Gerinum.

The ancient Hebrew name employed by Josephus in his *Antiquities* has continued to cling to the city, to the spring found beneath it, and to the valley sloping away gently toward the east,—the same in which the Midianites encamped (Judg. vi. 33). The Greek name Ezdraelon, which Josephus does not use, is now applied to the great plain stretching away west to the city of Jezreel (Zer'in).

This name Zer'in, or Zer'ain, as Wilson writes it, seems to have more relation to the celebrated spring (Ain) which

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 319.

[2] *Itinerar. Hierosol.* p. 586, ed. Parthey, p. 276.

[3] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 321; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 87.

is found near the village, and which is spoken of in 1 Sam. xxix. 1 as a place of encampment: "The Philistines gathered together all their armies to Aphek; and the Israelites pitched by a fountain which is in Jezreel." The place is of insignificant importance compared with its splendour in the days of Ishbosheth the son of Saul (2 Sam. ii. 2, 8, 9), and when Ahab and Jezebel once had their royal residence there, and coveted the vineyard of Naboth, and brought upon themselves the judgments of God. Wilson counted[1] thirty or forty huts in the present village, and scattered fragments around, among which were a number of sarcophagi, which Robinson had already noticed, and held to be a mark of the former importance of the place. At a second visit Wilson saw eleven of these, and held them to be the work of the ancient Israelites.[1] He also discovered traces of basaltic quarries which had not been observed before. Among the ruins he found an ancient square tower, which both he and Robinson ascended, and whence an extensive prospect was to be had. At the north was Jebel Dahi and the mountains of Nazareth and Galilee. Westward the Carmel ridge was seen stretching to the sea: in the distant east and beyond the Jordan the mountain walls of Bethaniyah (Bashan) and Ajlun (Eglon) were to be descried. Still nearer, and in the same direction, was the Tell Beisan, the acropolis which towers above the site of the ancient Scythopolis. Westward, and at about the same distance, Lejun with its minaret could be seen confronting Carmel. This place was the ancient Legio; and near it was Maximianopolis, which Jerome locates in the plain of Megiddo. Each of these places is about nine miles from Zer'in, the intermediate station. The tower referred to above seems to be a monument dating from a very early period,—perhaps that of the prophet Elijah,—and may be the very one mentioned in the account of Joram's sickness at Jezreel, and the approach of Jehu, his adversary, over the plain below. The latter was evidently coming up through the Wadi Beisan, the ancient Bethshean. The account is given in 2 Kings ix., and the 17th verse gives a very distinct idea of one topographical peculiarity of the ancient city of Jezreel. The allusion is in the following words: "And there stood a watchman on the *tower* of Jezreel," etc.

[1] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 87, 303.

More satisfactory testimony to the identity of the place noticed by Robinson and Wilson with the Jezreel which flourished three thousand years ago, can hardly be imagined. The argument is strengthened by a word or two occurring in 1 Kings iv. 12, where, in the account of the twelve officials appointed to provide for the wants of Solomon's household, we read: "Taanach and Megiddo, and all Beth-shean, which is by Zartanah, *beneath Jezreel*," etc. The last words exactly describe the impression which the view from Zer'in made upon the travellers of our day who looked down from it upon the depression of Wadi Beisan.[1]

Wilson tells us that, on his descent from Zer'in, on the northern side of the declivity, he came unexpectedly upon a fountain which supplies the present village with water. This seemed to him to be probably the spring mentioned in 1 Sam. xxix. 1, around which Israel encamped when the Philistines came up into the plain of Jezreel and offered battle. This, however, is the fountain Ain Jalud, farther east, which Robinson visited. Wilson, on his second tour of exploration[2] in that neighbourhood, was struck with the regular descent of the valley towards the east; he discovered, moreover, several brooks whose waters were of great advantage to the crop of oats which he found growing there. The soil seemed to him to be formed from the crumbling of the basaltic rock of the neighbourhood, and to owe its fertility to this component.[3]

Robinson, like Wilson, descended the north face of the bluff on which Zer'in stands, and after a walk of twelve minutes he came to a cluster of springs, whose waters, after breaking from the ground, formed for a little distance separate channels, and then joined in a common brook. The name which he found given to it was Ain el Meiyiteh, or the Dead Fountain,[4] because it used to dry up. At the time of his visit, however, it had been dug out, and its waters turned to a useful purpose in irrigation. This seems to be the spring which Wilson thought the true Ain Jezreel mentioned in the Scriptures. But twenty

[1] See Wilson, *Lands, etc.*, ii. p. 87; Dr E. G. Schultz, *Zeitsch. d. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.* vol. iii. p. 48; and Gross, *Anmerk.* p. 58.

[2] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 88, 303, 304.

[3] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 324.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 323–325.

minutes' distance eastward of this, Robinson discovered a very large spring, which seemed to him to have no slight claims to recognition, as the one alluded to in the sacred record. It breaks forth from beneath a wall of conglomerate rock, which forms the base of the Gilboa mountains (Gilboa signifies in the Hebrew a boiling[1] spring); and the supposition seems a natural one, that the name was transferred from the fountain to the range. The water is of an excellent quality, and forms, directly below the cleft whence it flows, a fine clear pool, full of fish. The brook which forms the outlet of this turns the wheel of a mill, and then passes on, unquestionably to be the upper waters of the Wadi Beisan, although this name is not there in use. The term by which the fountain is designated by the Arabs is Ain Jalud, *i.e.* Goliath's Spring,—Jalud being the Arabic form of Goliath.[2] The connection of the name of the giant who encountered David with this spring is evidently merely fanciful, springing from the fact that a great battle was once fought here between the Israelites[3] and the Philistines (1 Sam. xxix. 1, 11).

This spring was one better adapted, from its ample supply of water, to be the camping-place of the Hebrew army, than the one found near the village of Zer'in. And the place which witnessed the death of Saul and Jonathan (1 Sam. xxxi. 1-4) has not been allowed to remain there many centuries without drawing other armies to its neighbourhood. Its situation at the intersection of the roads running north and east, as well as its ample supplies of water,[4] made this place a famous resort in the time of the Crusades; for by this spring passed the nearest and the most comfortable road for the Saracen hordes under Saladin to come up from the Jordan after crossing from Peræa. At this spring they could encamp before entering the mountain land of Galilee and Samaria, and rest themselves and prepare for battle. William of Tyre, the chronicler of the Crusades, was familiar with the fact that this great fountain, then called Zubania, was the source of the Wadi Beisan stream; for he

[1] Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterthk.* ii. p. 111.

[2] Bahaeddin, *Vita Saladini*, p. 53; Wilken, *Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, iii. p. 231, Note 146.

[3] *Itinerar. Antonini Augusti, etc.*, ed. Parthey, p. 276.

[4] *Zeitsch. d. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.* vol. iii. p. 48.

not only speaks distinctly of it, but he confirms his testimony, by stating that the pool which it fed was so full of fish as to supply the troops which were with him with a full meal. I have already alluded to Robinson's interesting discovery of fish in the same waters.

The earliest account of the division of the conquered country among the tribes (Josh. xvii. 11), informs us that Beisan or Bethshean (Scythopolis), the possession of Manasseh, though within the limits of Issachar, was settled by a Canaanite population, which Manasseh was too weak to conquer and to expel[1] (Judg. i. 27). The Canaanites were dwelling at that time in several cities of that region—Endor, Thaanach, and Megiddo—as well as Bethshean. At that period of the ascendancy of the tribes in actual possession, the descendants of Joseph, who were divided into two tribes, Ephraim and half Manasseh, were very much discontented with the portion assigned them (Josh. xvii. 14–18), because, although a numerous people, they had but one share. The result of their complaint was, that Joshua recognised the justice of their claims, and bade them go and cut down the forests, and make for themselves a place in the country of the Perizzites and Rephaites. Their answer was: "The hill is not enough for us; and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley have chariots of iron, both they that are of Bethshean and her towns, and they who are of the valley of Jezreel." From this and from what follows, it seems clear that the mountains of Gilboa are here meant, extending as they do from Bethshean (Beisan) to Jezreel, and that the broad gentle slope from Beisan to Jezreel, sinking into the plain itself, is set in direct contrast with the "land of the valley." It was only this plain of Jezreel, and that north of Lake Huleh, that was then accessible to the chariots of the Canaanites. It was in this plain of Jezreel that Joram king of Israel, and Ahaziah king of Judah, went forth in chariots to meet the enemy: it was here that Jehu passed in a chariot to Samaria to meet the faithful Jehonadab (see 2 Kings ix. 21, x. 15). And Wilson,[2] in leaving the hilly district of Judæa, utterly unfitted for vehicles, and entering the plain of Esdraelon at Jenin, was surprised

[1] Keil, *Commentar zu Josua*, p. 318.

[2] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 303.

to see how entirely it differed from the country which he had previously traversed, and how easily it might be crossed by excellent highways, if the custom of the country admitted of the use of vehicles. In the days of the Jews, the plain was so associated with the use of the chariot, that this term became to a certain extent an exponent of the power of the people inhabiting the plain: the chariot was the glory of Ephraim, as the horse was of Judah (Zech. ix. 9, 10).

There is this remarkable inference to be drawn from the passage cited above from the book of Joshua, that at the time of the Israelitish invasion, the mountains of Gilboa and the country adjacent were covered with dense forests, of which not a trace now remains, and which made them a more secure asylum for those who sought protection, than open fields could be. And it seems to have been a shrewd device of the great Hebrew chieftain, the counselling the descendants of Joseph to go up into the mountain land; for it would lead to the laying bare of the whole country, and would compel the original inhabitants to come out from their places of refuge, and make open resistance to the invaders. It is unquestionable, that the mountains of Gilboa present a very different appearance to that of Joshua's time. And when Wilson emerged at Jenin from the mountain country of the south, and entered the most fertile district of all Palestine, the plain of Esdraelon, in all the broad expanse over which his eye ranged, there was not a single tree to be seen.[1]

2. *The Mountains of Gilboa, now Jelbun (Jelbon), or Jebel Fukua.*

Unimportant as the mountains of Jelbon may seem to be at the present time, in consequence both of their physical insignificance and the uninteresting character of the few people who inhabit them, both of which circumstances have caused the range to be entirely overlooked by travellers; yet, to one interested in Hebrew history, these mountains have even a classical interest. Who could pass by the range, and not think with tenderness of the friendship of David and Jonathan, and recall with painful interest the song of the former, when the latter had perished in the battle of the Philistines: "The beauty

[1] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 85.

of Israel is slain upon thy high places: how are the mighty fallen! Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided." The imprecation of ver. 21 is also found in the same dirge: "Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain upon you, nor fields of offerings," etc.; for the Philistines had contended with Israel, the latter had been vanquished, and Saul and Jonathan had fallen upon the mountains. Saul's armour was suspended in Ashtaroth, and his body hung upon the walls of Bethshean (1 Sam. xxxi. 1, 10). Afterwards, his bones, together with those of Jonathan, were brought by the royal Psalmist and hero, David, to Zelah, in the territory of Benjamin, and buried in the grave of his father Kish (2 Sam. xxi. 14).

As one passes on to the mountain-land of Samaria, through the narrow pass in which Jenin (Ginœa) lies, at the south-east bend of the plain of Esdraelon, a walk of two hours brings him to Zer'in, on the north-west bluff of the mountains of Gilboa. From that point the range runs in a south-easterly direction, till it is terminated by the steep wall at whose foot runs the Jordan. Coming from Jenin to Zer'in, one has on the right hand the southerly slope of Gilboa in view; and the brooks which rise there flow westward into the Kishon, although in the summer they are all dry. The streams which flow into the Jordan on the other side are entirely unknown. Burckhardt[1] speaks, indeed, of a Wadi el Maleh; but no one has visited it.

Directly after emerging[2] from the defile, the traveller sees, across the south-eastern bend of the fruitful plain of Esdraelon, the whole Gilboa range, along whose western flank the road northward leads, passing a number of uninteresting spurs or bluffs. The mountains, or more strictly, the hills of Gilboa, exhibit nothing striking or pleasing in their general contour:[3] they are not lofty; they exhibit very little green pasture-land, and no tilled fields; while forests are utterly wanting. The broad and naked strips, and steep barren escarpments of limestone, are far more obvious to the eye than the patches of green. The line of elevation seems to be a south-easterly continuation of that of the Carmel range; and with the exception

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 345.
[2] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 318.
[3] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. pp. 85, 86.

of one or two breaks, but a few miles across, the chain may be said to be complete, from the Carmel promontory to the Ghor. Northward of this continuous line there was unquestionably, at a very early period, a lake of considerable magnitude, whose waters broke through the place where now the channel of the Kishon is, leaving the fertile plain of Jezreel behind. The road from Jenin to Zer'in passes the places Araneh, Jelameh, and Sundela.[1] Rounding the northern end of the range, there is to be seen first the village of Nuris, then Mezar or Wezar, having at a distance the look of a fortress, and farther south-east the village of Arabbunah. Still farther in the same direction, but upon the southern slope, lies Fukua,[2] which gives the modern name to the range. Robinson locates the village of Jelbon (Gilboa), whose existence was not known before his day, and whose name is identical with the former designation[3] of the mountains, on the northern side; but this was a mistake, and the later investigations of Schultz have shown conclusively that it was on the southern slope.

The traveller last mentioned has devoted much attention to the geography of Gilboa, in order to throw light upon the places mentioned in the book of Judith. Although recognising the lack of an authentic historical character in this apocryphal book, yet he supposed, with good reason, that the author in his topographical descriptions would have adhered closely to literal fact. The result of his investigations showed him that his conjecture was well founded; that the author of the book of Judith was thoroughly acquainted with the geography of Gilboa. Looking for Bethulia,[4] the scene of the heroine's career, he was directed[5] to the village of Beit-Ilfah[6] (or Ilua), which seemed to him to be the same word slightly changed. It lies on the northern slope of the mountain, as one goes from Fukua towards the Beisan valley. Its whole geographical character convinced him of the truth of his discovery. The

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 319. *Ibid.* p. 316.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 316, 317. See also Rosenmüller's *Bib. Alterthk.* ii. p. 111; Reland, *Pal.* p. 344, and cap. xiii.

[4] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 323–356.

[5] Von Raumer, *Beiträge zur bibl. Geog.* p. 19, art. *Belueir.*

[6] E. G. Schultz, *Mutt. über eine Reise in Samaria*, in *Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.* vol. iii. pp. 48, 49; and Gross, *Anmerk.* pp. 58, 59.

Belmah of the book of Judith, Schultz supposes he has found in the modern Bel'ameh, near Jenin. Dothan, or Dothaim, which was near Belmah, was also the object of his careful search. The location has not been with exactness ascertained; but Schultz supposes it to have been south-west of Jenin, where the plain of Esdraelon enters for a little way the mountains of Samaria. Dothan, it will be remembered, lay upon the highway which the Ishmaelite merchants were compelled to travel; for it was while they were in their regular march that they bought Joseph of his brethren (Gen. xxxvii. 17). Gross,[1] in his remarkably close critical observations, conjectures that the old highway running from Samaria northward did not pass, as now, Engannin (Josh. xix. 21), the present Jenin,[2] according to Joshua, but by Dothan. See Gen. xxxvii. 17, and the account of the Syrian invasion, 2 Kings vi. 13. The discovery of the site of Dothan is one well worthy of the attention of future explorers. Unfortunately, Schultz was not able to visit the place which has been conjectured with the most probability to have been the spot.[3]

3. *Beisan* (*Bethshean, Bethshan, Scythopolis*).

We turn now from the Gilboa range and the fountain of Jezreel, and pass south-eastward through the "Great Gate" leading down to the Jordan, for there lies the third object of our special inquiry. This is the site of the city of Beisan, the renowned Scythopolis of the past, whose discovery and identification we owe to Burckhardt.

Seetzen[4] has already descried the place from Wadi Jabis beyond the Jordan, a deep gorge which lies directly opposite to Beishan, and of which he says that it is the natural boundary between Botthin and Ejlan,—a circumstance which must have given to Beisan, situated as it was at the outlet of this portal

[1] Von Raumer, *Pal.* p. 149, Note 107, and Append. pp. 21, 22. See Gross, *Anmerk.* as above, p. 58.

[2] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. 315.

[3] Since these pages were written, the site of Dothan has been definitely ascertained by Robinson and Van der Velde. The hill on which it lay is S.W. of Jenin, about five miles from it, and near the southern margin of the plain of Esdraelon. See also Tristram (p. 132), who there saw a long caravan of mules and asses, laden, on their way from Damascus to Egypt.—ED.

[4] Seetzen, *Mon. Corresp.* xviii. p. 423.

to northern and southern Peræa, great historical importance. The Syrian hordes, from the earliest times down to Saladin, understood perfectly the value of that portal to Samaria and Galilee. Situated as Beisan is in the Ghor, midway between Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea, at the most fertile and most accessible spot on the western bank, at the junction of the road running eastward and westward with that running north and south, it must always have been a place of much consequence and influence. That it has not retained that place up to the present time, is due to the want of stability in the political relations of the country, and to the frequent incursions of Arab robbers who come into Palestine from the desert, choosing as their highway this very accessible one through the Wadi Beisan, the most convenient south of Lake Tiberias. Since there is not now, and for centuries has not been, anything to hinder them, tribes of wandering Beduins have for ages swept through that open gate like swarms of grasshoppers, and have become by successive stages the possessors of the whole country, while the primitive inhabitants have betaken themselves to the walled cities. And of the ancient glory which Beisan once had, the largest and most important of the cities which formed the Decapolis, and the seat of a bishopric (afterwards transferred to Nazareth), nothing now remains but a mass of ruins and a few squalid houses. Even in 1182 the once lordly Scythopolis had become a small and unimportant place; still it was strong enough to withstand successfully the first assault of the Sultan Saladin,[1] who was compelled, after beleaguering it, to raise the siege. Yet the place fell before his repeated attacks, and the inhabitants were compelled to take refuge in Tiberias, whose walls they deemed more secure. Saladin, on his entrance, found the city desolate. The archbishop of Tyre[2] tells us that in his time the place was beautified with a few elegant buildings of marble, testifying to its former splendour, but that the place consisted mainly of a cluster of mean, hut-like houses, built upon swampy ground, and that the number of inhabitants was very small. At a later period the place is scarcely named. Edrisi[3] tells us that it was

[1] Wilken, *Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, iii. pp. 210, 230.
[2] Will. Tyr. *Histor.* lib. xxii. fol. 1037.
[3] Edrisi, in Jaubert, T. i. p. 239.

an insignificant village in his day, that several date trees grew there, and much of the *samanie* (a kind of rush), which the people used to weave into mats. Abulfeda[1] speaks of the place under the name of Baisan (the word Scythopolis was utterly unknown to the orientals), and says that it was very small, unencompassed by a wall, but well watered, and surrounded by a very fertile district.

Recent travellers describe its condition as very little improved. Burckhardt[2] merely remarks of it, that it lies on a tolerably elevated position on the west side of the Ghor, where the mountain range sensibly falls off in height, and that it marks an open gateway to the central part of the country. About an hour's distance south of the village the mountain chain begins. The ancient city, he says, was watered by a stream now called Moiet-Beisan, *i.e.* the waters of Beisan, which distributes itself through a number of small channels. Burckhardt found the ruins of Scythopolis to be extensive; it was originally built along the banks of the stream, and could not have been less than three miles in circumference. The only monumental relics which he was able to discover consisted of black hewn stones, foundations of houses, and fragments of pillars. He saw only one shaft still standing. In one of the little hollows formed by the stream he found a dam, constructed with some skill, and on the left bank there stood a khan for the accommodation of caravans on the way from Jerusalem to Damascus.

The inhabitants of the seventy or eighty houses still standing in Beisan Burckhardt found in a very sad condition, being greatly exposed to the predatory incursions of Arabs from the Ghor, and compelled to pay a severe tribute. The contrast is most striking between the present and the past of this now insignificant place. It attained great magnificence at the instance of Pompey the Great, who passed through on his tour of conquest, and left on the east bank of the Jordan and in this city of Scythopolis the marks of his power and taste. His successors lavished even greater treasures in the construction of other Syrian cities, of which we have the distinct traces in the admirably preserved monuments east of the Jordan,

[1] Abulfedæ *Tab. Syria*, ed. Koehler, p. 84.

[2] Burckhardt, *Trav.* pp. 341–344.

while the splendour of Scythopolis has utterly departed. Among the ruins the theatre is the best preserved, although it is wholly overgrown with bushes and weeds. Irby and Mangles[1] took accurate measurements of it, because the arrangements of it were peculiar. The front measured a hundred and eighty feet across. In one of the most hidden vomitoria there lay a heap of skulls, in which vipers were seen curled. No one can conjecture how many Christians have here met the fate of martyrdom.

The city walls, and the former fortress, the Acropolis of the place, are still to be seen. North-east of the latter, and outside of the walls, are several interesting tombs, whose stone doors are still secured in their old places by the stone rivets which were originally inserted for that purpose (see 1 Kings iv. 13). In some of these tombs sarcophagi have been found, and triangular niches in which to set the sepulchral lamps. South-west of the Acropolis there exists a fine Roman[2] bridge, and beyond it a paved *via militaris*, unquestionably a portion of the great Damascus road running to Samaria and Jerusalem.

The present condition of Beisan has been depicted by Molyneux since Burckhardt and Irby and Mangles were there; but there is no detailed report of the aspect of the ruins, since very few travellers pass by it, preferring the safer ford of the Jordan at Jericho, or that below Lake Tiberias, when taking their excursions into the country east of the river. The Arabs, too, in this neighbourhood, are very bold and troublesome to travellers. C. de Bertou[3] is the only traveller who has studied the whole of the middle Jordan valley, but he was unable to make any stay at Beisan, and hence we lack a description from his pen.[4]

In Hebrew history this place was known as Beth-sean, Beth-shean,[5] and Beth-shan, *i.e.* house of peace; and Beisan is evidently a mere corruption of the older word. At the time of the Israelitic invasion of Canaan, Beth-shean is mentioned as standing near the wooded range which belonged

[1] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* p. 301. [2] *Ibid.* p. 303.

[3] C. de Bertou, *Mem. sur la Depression*, in *Bulletin de la Soc. Geog. de Paris*, T. xii. p. 151.

[4] See in appendix to this volume an account of Tristram's visit to Beisan.

[5] Rosenmüller, *Bib. Alterthk.* ii. Note 3, p. 105; and Gesenius' Note to Burckhardt, p. 1056.

to Manasseh; but although given to this tribe, it never came into their formal possession, owing to its strength. The people were merely compelled to pay a certain tribute, they were never reduced to actual submission (Josh. xvii. 11, 16; Judg. i. 27). Only at the time of the Philistines' victory over Saul did Beth-shean fall into the power of these enemies of Israel (1 Sam. xxxi. 10); but during the reign of Solomon it had been wrested from the Philistines, as may be inferred from 1 Kings iv. 12.[1]

Soon after the captivity, the name Beth-shean fell into disuse, and the name Scythopolis took its place. The origin of the latter word is uncertain. I am not disposed to coincide with the theories[2] which attribute it to an invasion of Scythians into Palestine, of which history contains no record; and although Zephaniah, Joel, and Jeremiah (see the latter, chap. iv. 5, 6) speak indefinitely of the attack of certain powerful enemies from a distant country, yet there is little reason to think that they were Scythians. At all events, whatever may have been the origin of the name Scythopolis, it had no permanent possession, and yielded in favour of the Arabic corruption of the ancient and scriptural Beth-shean.[3]

After the expedition of Pompey through Syria and Palestine, and his destruction of so many cities, the Romans began to restore what they had destroyed, and on a scale of even greater splendour. Gabinius, the successor of Pompey and the predecessor of Crassus, restored and fortified Scythopolis, Samaria, Gamala, and many other cities. The peace and security which the Roman rule confirmed, made Scythopolis the most powerful of the ten cities which formed the Decapolis; and although the only one on the west side of the Jordan, yet it was recognised as the head of the union. Thence came many people to hear the Saviour of the world; and in the account given in Matt. iv. 25, the importance of Scythopolis[4] seems to have caused the use of the word Decapolis as its

[1] Von Raumer, *Pal.* p. 144.

[2] See Winer, *Bibl. Realw.* i. p. 176; H. Reland, pp. 992–998; Gesenius' Note to Burckhardt, ii. p. 1058; G. Syncellus, ed. Dindorfii, p. 405.

[3] See G. Cedressus, p. 135, ed. Im. Bekker.

[4] Fleischer on the *Codex Rescriptus*, in *Z. de Deutsch. Morgen. Ges.* i. p. 150.

synonym. At the time of Eusebius and Jerome[1] it was a place of some splendour, and the seat of a bishopric. At a later period it became the chief bishopric in Palestina Secunda, and possessed a celebrated convent. Under Julian the Apostate's reign, the most fearful cruelties were practised upon the Christians; and the exposed position of the place caused the continuance of them at the hands of barbarian invaders, until the Franks, in order to escape this treatment, removed the bishopric to Nazareth.[2]

DISCURSION V.

THE JORDAN VALLEY SOUTH OF BEISAN, WITH THE WESTERN TRIBUTARIES AS FAR AS JERICHO, ACCORDING TO BURCKHARDT AND DE BERTOU.

Continuing our course southward from Beisan along the valley of the Jordan, we must confess that if our knowledge northward of that point is only partial and fragmentary, south of it it is still more so. All the territory lying between Beisan and Jericho must be considered a *terra incognita:* what we know of it, is indebted to the hasty flights of two or three travellers through the country, under great disadvantages for enabling them to take observations. The western side of the river is almost as much unknown as the eastern; and what we know has been learned in part by hearsay, and in part by glimpses which have been caught from high and distant places, all to be rectified by subsequent nearer and more careful investigations. Yet we are, it must be confessed, a great way removed from the stage of ignorance about the country which was experienced by that master in the art of observation, Burckhardt, when he set out from Beisan to go southward through the Ghor by way of Abu Obeidah to the mountain ridge Jilaad es Szalt, on the south-east side of the Jordan, and south of Wadi Zerka. We have not only the record of Molyneux's boat voyage down the Jordan, scanty as it is [and the more full narrative of Lynch], but casual yet repeated allusions

[1] Reland, *Pal.* p. 995; Gesenius' Note to Burckhardt, ii. p. 1058; von Raumer, *Pal.* p. 147; Winer, i. p. 175; Rosenmüller, *Bib. Alterth.* i. p. 173, and ii. p. 105.

[2] Reland, *Pal.* p. 996.

on the part of other travellers, which do something to dispel the darkness which used to rest upon this region.

Burckhardt[1] is the first who threw any light upon this great blank in our geographical knowledge. He alludes to the great number of brooks which in the rainy season come down from the mountains in all seasons, and give nourishment to a luxuriant growth of grass and weeds; yet the greater part of the valley, according to his report, is an arid desert, the ground betraying many marks of ancient volcanic action, and only here and there tilled. Near Beisan the soil is marl throughout, supporting trees only here and there, but giving sustenance to a plentiful harvest of bushes and reeds.

The rivers[2] which flow into the Jordan, south of Beisan, and on the west side, are four in number—Wadi el Malih, Wadi Mejedda, Wadi el Beydhan, and Wadi el Fariah. The two first specified are mentioned in the Jihannuma by the same names. On the east side, Burckhardt mentions other four—Wadi el Arab, Wadi el Koszeir, Wadi et Taybe, and Wadi el Seklab. These are all mentioned in the Jihannuma. He also gives the names of three cities—Fassail, el-Oja, and Ayn Sultan—leaving the impression that they are found nearer Beisan than Jericho, and that there are no other ruins between the two. The reports of subsequent travellers show, however, that Burckhardt, generally so punctiliously exact, has fallen into slight inaccuracies here, as the true order of the rivers on the western side is different from that given by him, and as the ruined cities which he mentions are found in the immediate neighbourhood of Jericho. And in addition to the cities mentioned, Schultz has identified conjecturally Archelais, Alexandrium, Phasælis, Kypros, and others.

It is impossible entirely to overlook the full report which De Bertou has given of the results of his journey down the valley, although his meagre command of the Arabic has rendered many of his results of less value than they would otherwise have been. But it is not to be doubted, that others who may subsequently go over the same ground will find his observations of great importance. Yet, as Bertou's course led him along the tops of the hills which bound the valley on the west, we cannot learn from

[1] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 344.

[2] Von Hammer-Purgstall in *Wien. Jahrb.* 1836, vol. lxxiv. p. 52.

him the details relating to the lowlands so fully as from Molyneux [and Lynch].

De Bertou found the breadth of the Ghor to be about thirty thousand feet, or not far from five English miles. The country declined gradually towards the south-west as far as Sukkòt, and was only partially cultivated: the grain was then in its most advanced stage. At Sukkot, De Bertou discovered some fragments of columns, and some traces of earthworks, leading him to the conclusion that there was once a city. The Jordan, opposite to Beisan, was found to be 1027 Paris feet below the level of the sea. There must be, therefore, between Lake Tiberias and that spot a fall of 305 feet.

He had great difficulty in procuring an Arab escort down the river; and all whom he could procure were vagabonds and robbers. They called each other Satans; a name which Barth[1] afterwards heard used by the members of the Beni-Saker tribe. He was obliged to leave all his valuables behind him at Beisan, and thus in this state he entered upon a most dangerous journey.

He first crossed the brook Abu Fares,[2] and seventeen minutes later the Wadi Shubash. Twelve minutes more brought him to the spring Ain er Radghah, which springs from an eminence, on whose summit are ruins, including fragments of pillars and the tomb of a saint: the name is not known. Twenty-five minutes farther on the Wadi Fatun is crossed; and twelve more, Ain Kaun. A little farther beyond, the valley narrows, the mountains on the west advance towards the east; and a little southward the Wadi el Malih breaks through, entering the Jordan directly opposite the Wadi el Hemar, which comes down from the Jebel Ajlun.[3]

After passing the Wadi el Malih, or Salt Valley, De Bertou remarks that there is an immediate change in the vegetation: up to that point there is a vast quantity of sappy growths, such as grass, small clover, anemones, and lavender, while southward there is only a dry parched soil, on which grow light grass, immortelles, and thistles.

From Wadi el Malih to Wadi el Faria there is a road of

[1] Dr H. Barth, *Tagebuch*, 1847, MS.
[2] De Bertou, *Mem. l.c.* xii. p. 155.
[3] Burckhardt, *Trav.* p. 345.

eight hours' length, crossed by a full dozen of wadis, which come down from the west, and terminate in the Jordan. The first of these is the Wadi Fyadh, which divides into several arms: the second, Wadi Jamel, a very deep watercourse, enters the river opposite the bold shore on which the Kalaat er Rabbad lies. The Jordan here runs through a line of white knolls, which look as if they were a row of fortifications extending to the Dead Sea. They are dry and salty, producing no green thing, while the banks of the stream are accompanied by an unbroken and dense thicket or jungle. The Jordan sometimes overflows its banks to such an extent here, that the Arabs say of it that it is "as wide as a sea." South of Wadi Jamel, and a half-hour away, is the Wadi Bkia. At its entrance into the Jordan, the barometer recorded the depression as 1036 Paris feet below the sea, showing that while there has been a fall between this point and the Sea of Tiberias of 314 feet, between it and Wadi Beisan there has been a fall of only nine feet. We come next in our southward course to the Wadi Abu Sadra, and afterwards to the Wadi el Faria,[1] a very important halting-place for travellers. It is well supplied with sweet and good water, and the land adjacent is tilled by the Arabs: the weather is so hot there, that the barley is ready for harvesting in the end of April. De Bertou found that the Arabs were familiar with the great depression of the Ghor, and believed it to be below the surface of the "great sea,"—a suspicion which, had it been known, might have led to an early confirmation on the part of Europeans.

Below Wadi Faria, the mountains, which have for the last part of the way crowded the Jordan into a narrow pass, here recede, and give the same breadth which was last seen at Beisan: this continues to be the case as far as to the Dead Sea. From Wadi Faria to Riha or Jericho the distance is nine hours, in which at least a half-dozen wadis must be crossed. They are the Wadi el Abyad, the Wadi el Fasail (remarkable for producing a rare kind of wood called rocka —*cistus arborea*—occasionally seen on the Sinai Peninsula, frequently met in Oman, in the Hejas, and around Mecca, and used for giving lustre to the teeth), the Wadi el Aujeh, Wadi Abu Obaideh, Wadi Hermel, Wadi Diab, and Wadi en

[1] De Bertou, *Mem. l.c.* xii. p. 158.

Nawaimeh. The second of these wadis is thought to have been the site of the ancient Phasaelis, and the name itself is believed to be a corruption of that of the old city. In the Wadi el Aujeh, too, de Bertou saw extensive ruins, which seemed to hint at the early existence of an important place there; and at the Wadi en Nawaimeh the aqueduct arches were seen.

From Riha or Jericho de Bertou prosecuted his researches as far as the Dead Sea, and with a barometer ascertained it to be 1290 Paris feet below the surface of the ocean.[1]

DISCURSION VI.

PARTIAL CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE ACCOUNTS OF BURCKHARDT AND DE BERTOU—SUKKOT—WADI EL MALIH—THEBEZ—WADI EL FAR'IA.

Sukkot.—The existence of a collection of ruins known as Sukkot (apparently a contraction of Sukkotopolis, which is in its turn a corruption of Scythopolis), and, according to Burckhardt, lying not far from Beisan, is confirmed by the existence of a tribe of Arabs bearing the name of Sukkot. Unfortunately the locality of it has never been inquired into by any subsequent inquirer: and we have a mere allusion to it in the narrative of Wilkes, that five miles from one of their places of encampment the ruins of Sukkot were said to lie.[2]

It will be remembered by the reader, that the first place where the children of Israel encamped was called Succoth, *i.e.* booths or huts, meaning little less than a place of temporary shelter (Ex. xii. 37; Num. xxxiii. 5). The same name is also given to the place (Gen. xxxiii. 17)[3] where the patriarch Jacob put up sheds for his cattle after passing the Jabbok, before he crossed the Jordan and came to Shechem. The statement in Josh. xiii. 27 confirms the existence of a Succoth in the valley of the Jordan, not situated on a height, but in the valley proper, and belonging to the territory of Gad, though formerly tributary to Sidon. This place was on the east side

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* i. p. 569.
[2] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* p. 478.
[3] Rosenmüller, *Bib. Alterthk.* ii. p. 159; Keil, *Comment. zu Josua*, p. 260.

of the river: it is afterwards mentioned as a city near to Penuel, both of which Gideon punished on account of their rebellious spirit (Judg. viii. 5–17). In Ps. lx. 6, a division of Shechem and of the valley of Succoth is spoken of, both of which David should rule—probably an allusion to the stay of Jacob in both of these places. In 1 Kings vii. 46, we are told that Solomon cast the metal vessels which were to be used in the temple in the clay ground of the Jordan valley between Succoth and Zarthan: the latter place, we are told in 1 Kings iv. 12, was near Beth-shean and beneath Jezreel. These accounts seem to indicate that on the west side of the Jordan there was a place bearing the name of Succoth; for it is hardly probable that the situation of extensive foundries would be mentioned in connection with it, if a large river like the Jordan separated them. Eusebius and Jerome both speak of Succoth as a temporary halting-place of the Israelites as they came out of Egypt; but Jerome, in his commentary on Gen. xxxiii. 17, says:[1] Sochoth est usque hodie civitas trans Jordanem hoc vocabulo in parte Scythopoleos.

It seems to me to have been most probable that there were two Succoths, one on each side of the Jordan,—the eastern one being in the neighbourhood of Penuel, the western one in the neighbourhood of Zarthan; the two being in the broad fine valley near the mouth of the Jabbok, so well adapted to serve as pasturage for the patriarch on his way to Shechem. It is to be hoped that some future traveller will take time to investigate into the ruins which are now said to be standing there.

With regard to the course of the Wadi el Malih, we have, in addition to the allusions of Hadje Chalfa and Burckhardt to its lower course, the statements of Berggren, Robinson, and Schultz, who have traced its upper course eastward of Jenin. Robinson, it is true, only saw this wadi from a distance, from the neighbourhood of Wadi Faria;[2] but Berggren[3] passed both on his way from Nazareth, by way of Zerin, to Tubas, and thence to Nablus. While on the way from Tubas (probably the Thebez where Abimelech received his death at a woman's hand, Judg. ix. 50–57), he came to the brackish brook Wadi el Melha, which was strong enough to drive the wheels of mills.

[1] H. Reland, *Pal.* pp. 992, 1022.

[2] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* i. p. 567; comp. ii. p. 317.

[3] J. Berggren, *Resor.* in *Europa och Osterlande*, pp. 338, 339.

The Wadi el Faria has been in a measure examined by Irby and Mangles[1] while on an excursion in 1818 from the Jordan to Nablus. They do not mention it by this name, but allude to a Beit Forage, which seems to owe its name to the wadi in question. Yet their course was so rapid that their narrative gives comparatively little light upon the subject. They lost the way in the necessity which they encountered of crossing the Jordan without a guide; but it is probable that the ruins of Agrarba, which they passed, indicate the site of the ancient Akrabi, of which Otto von Richter speaks, but which he did not see. Acrabi is spoken of by Eusebius and Jerome as being nine Roman miles from Neapolis, on the road to Jericho and the Jordan.

DISCURSION VII.

SCHULTZ' EXCURSIONS FROM SHILOH TO KEFR ISTUNAH (ALEXANDRIUM), KARN EL SARTABEH, KARIJUT (KOREÆ), BURJ EL FARI'A, AND EL BASSALIJA (ARCHELAIS).

It is to the enterprise of Schultz,[2] the late Prussian consul at Jerusalem, that we owe our knowledge in great part of the watershed lying east of the main road from Jerusalem to Nablus, and he was the first to visit the site of Akrabah. Its position is found to confirm the statement of Jerome, that it was three hours distant from Nablus. This gave a good datum for chartographical purposes.

Schultz' course led him from well-known stations on the Nablus road, Sinjel and Seilun (Shiloh), eastward, stopping first at Turmus Aja, where he spent a night.[3] North of this station he discovered Karijut, the ancient Koreæ: he then made a little excursion still farther east, to the edge of the Jordan valley, till he came within two hours of Karn el Sartabeh: he passed the village Kefr Istunah, with its very remarkable ancient ruins of temples or castles, which cannot be more modern than the time of Herod the Great. He then turned back to Seilun.

[1] Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* pp. 326–329.

[2] Dr E. G. Schultz, *Mitt.* in *Z. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.* vol. iii. p. 46.

[3] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 266–270.

This Kefr Istunah is a village standing upon a hill, detached from the loftier range on the east. There stands in the village an ancient fortress, a part of which is still in good condition, while elsewhere only the foundations are to be seen. The stones are in many places as colossal as those in the external wall of the Haram in Jerusalem—those in the base of the tower of David (Hippicus). This he conjectured to be the site of the ancient Alexandrium, which was so celebrated as a fortress subsequent to the times of Pompey, and particularly in connection with the siege of Gabinius. Josephus states that it lay near Koreæ.

Much earlier, indeed, Scholtz[1] had discovered some ruins, bearing the name Kafr Setuna, *i.e.* the village of Istunah, and Wolcott thought that he had discovered the ruins of Alexandrium in the more southern ones of Azzil;[2] but this spot is too far removed from Koreæ to justify his conclusion: the identification of Schultz has many more chances of probability. The Prussian consul was shown the high point called by him the Karn el Sartabeh (the Kurn Surtubeh of Robinson),[3] which was pointed out to him from Jericho: this seemed as if it might afford a good site for such a fortress as that of Alexandrium; but no European traveller has yet ascended it. It is said to have ruins upon it; and the peasants told Schultz that there was a great iron ring in the wall. Its distance from Karijut prevented Schultz visiting it, and he was compelled to inspect it with a telescope some miles away. Unquestionably the ascent of that point would throw much light upon the topography of all the adjacent district.

The Alexandrium at which Pompey tarried on his way from Scythopolis to Jerusalem, was not built, remarks H. Gross,[4] by Herod the Great, but by the warlike king Alexander Jannæus, from whom it derived its name. His son and grandson, Aristobulus I. and Alexander, used this fortress as an armoury during their wars against the Romans and the party of the high priest Hyrcanus. After the Roman proconsul Gabinius

[1] J. Scholtz, *Reise in Palästina.*

[2] Wolcott, in *Bib. Sacra*, 1843, p. 72.

[3] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* i. pp. 338–568.

[4] Gross, *Anmerk. zu Schultz*, in *Z. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.* vol. iii. p. 53.

had destroyed it, Aristobulus sought to restore it again, but was unable to do so. Subsequently Herod the Great strengthened the position, and made it his chief treasury. The fortress was a family possession of the later Asmonæans, and their family burying-place. The founder of the citadel, Alexander Jannæus, was not himself buried there, but in Jerusalem, as was also his grandfather John Hyrcanus. The tracing of the date given by Josephus would be all the more easy, if tombs should be discovered at the reputed Alexandrium, since that would make it almost certain that these sites were identical.

The Horn of Sartabah does not seem to correspond well with the site of Alexandrium, as it appears to be too far from Koreæ; but it seems to be exceedingly well adapted to serve as a signal station, as the Mishna Rash Hasham indicates, although Reland, who cites this, does not pronounce authoritatively upon the point (Montes Sartaba et Gerophna videntur etiam montibus terræ Israeliticæ adnumerandi, nam in his faces quassatæ sunt ad indicandum novilunium). According to Reland, the new moon was first signalized on the Mount of Olives, then on Sartabah, then upon Gerophna (perhaps a peak on the east side of the Jordan), and then on the more distant heights of Hauran. The hostile Samaritans, Gross conjectures,[1] initiated these signals in the neighbourhood of Sartabah, in order to deceive the Jews. The line of mountains running northward was well adapted to serve as a basis of fire-signals, to communicate the times of celebrating a feast to the entire nation; and the prominent position of Sartabah, standing as a boundary point between Judæa and Samaria, caused it to play a very important *rôle*. It was unquestionably from its summit that the signal[2] for the great national feast was given, that of harvest and thanksgiving, in the seventh or sabbath month, after the early spring feast. The announcement of the new moon, too, was from this mountain also; and it seems not impossible that the iron ring of which the peasants spoke to Schultz may have had some connection with the fire-signals of the Jews.

Subsequently Schultz visited Karijut, Jalud, and Jurish.[3]

[1] Gross, *Anmerk. zu Schultz*, in *Z. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.* vol. iii. p. 54.

[2] H. Ewald, *Die Alterthumer des Volks Israel*, pp. 354, 362, 369, etc.

[3] Ewald, *i.a.l.* pp. 46, 47.

Beyond the last-mentioned place Akrabah is to be seen, separated from it by the Wadi el Makhfurijeh, in which the brook Momur of the book of Judith is to be recognised. Akrabah, too, appears to be the "Ekrebet near to Chush," lying on the Momur. Karijut was seen by Robinson[1] from Sinjel, and identified by him with the ancient Coreæ. Gross[2] agrees with Robinson, and at the same time thinks that this word *Κορέαι* is a corruption of the old Hebrew word Kirjath, which appears so frequently in the Old Testament. Wolcott[3] visited this village of Karijut, but did not succeed in finding any traces of antiquity there.

Another conjecture of Schultz, that the Enon where John baptized (John iii. 23) was in the neighbourhood of Akrabah, has been so completely set aside by Gross,[4] that I need not refer to it now. North of the Karn el Sartabah, and on the line of watershed, is the conspicuous ruin of Burj el Faria,[5] two hours distant from Meithalon,[6] and in a very interesting location; it cannot, however, be identical with the Pirothon of 1 Macc. ix. 50. In the neighbourhood of Meithalon rises a hill crowned with ruins—Tell Khaibar, the changed name of that Hepher which we meet with in Josh. xii. 17 and 1 Kings iv. 10.

In the lower course of Wadi el Faria, and near its mouth, Schultz heard of the existence of ruins which seemed to him to indicate the site of Archelais. Already Robinson,[7] without knowing of their existence, had conjecturally located that ancient city in this wadi. It was built by the cruel ethnarch Archelaus, who also built a magnificent palace in Jericho, and the aqueduct of Neara. After ten years' rule here he was summoned to Rome, and sent as an exile to Gaul. Archelais and Phasaelis are mentioned by Ptolemy as being north of Jericho, but Alexandrium is not named.

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 267.
[2] Gross, *Anmerk. i.a.l.* p. 54.
[3] Wolcott, in *Bib. Sacra*, 1843, p. 72.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 55, 56.
[5] Schultz, *Mitt.* in *Z. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.* iii. p. 48.
[6] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 313, 314.
[7] *Ibid.* i. p. 569.

DISCURSION VIII.

WADI FASSAIL (CHIRBET FASSAIL, THE ANCIENT PHASAELIS) AND ITS PALM GARDENS.

At the mouth of the Wadi Fassail there are ruins which are well known to the Arabs, and which, according to Schultz, can be no other than those of the ancient Phasaelis. Robinson[1] ascertained from Sheikh Mustapha the names of all the leading wadis running from the west to the Jordan, and found them to agree closely with the list which, in its now revised and confirmed form, has been given on a preceding page. Robinson remarks, without specifying any particular locality (excepting conjecturally suspecting that el-Aujeh might prove to be the correct site), that the ancient Phasaelis must have been in the territory which Herod once rescued from its desert state, and converted into a tract of great fertility: the name, Robinson supposed, has been perpetuated in the word Fassail. The allusion of Brocardus to a village Phasellum, lying a French mile north of Dûk, led him to his conjecture, for this point coincided with el-Aujeh. But now that the ancient position of Chirbet Fassail is confirmed, it is unnecessary to suppose that the ancient city was connected with a wadi whose name differed so widely from its own; and it is a question whether Gross is not correct in his conjecture, that the ruins at el-Aujeh do not indicate the locality of the citadel of Kypros,[2] which was built by Herod, and named in honour of his mother. Monro,[3] however, thinks that the ruins which he saw nearer Jericho indicate the state of that fortress. Phasaelus was named in honour of Herod's brother, and was given first to his sister Salome, and was afterwards conveyed by her, together with Archelais, to Julia, *i.e.* Livia, the wife of the Emperor Augustus. It is to this circumstance that we must attribute Pliny's knowledge of the advanced stage of the palm culture there,—a culture which was not confined to Jericho, but extended to all the country in the neighbourhood. The palm gardens of Phasaelis are mentioned specifically in the will of Salome.

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* i. pp. 568, 569.
[2] Gross, *Anmerk. i.a.l.* p. 54.
[3] Monro, *Summer Ramble*, i. pp. 158, 162.

How entirely different from its present appearance the Jordan valley must have looked when the great highway from Jerusalem to Jericho extended northward through the fertile Ghor, beautified by nature and art, the wadis liberally watered and filled with vegetation; and Kypros, Phasaelis, Archelais, and Scythopolis lying not far away from the traveller's course as he took his way northward to Tiberias and Cæsarea Philippi!

Robinson passed[1] from the Elizabeth Spring, or Ain es Sultan, by way of Nawaimeh to Bethel, and from his account we learn the topography of that region. Near the end of his course he struck the old road between Bethel and Gilgal, which was used by the prophets. The cisterns hewn by the way made it evident that the ancient highway took that direction.

DISCURSION IX.

DR H. BARTH'S TWO EXCURSIONS BETWEEN THE JORDAN AND NABLUS IN 1847.

1. *From Jericho by way of the Waters of Dosh (Ain Duk), Wadi Neweimeh (Nawaimeh), el-Uja (el-Aujeh), Jebel Guddus, the cave of Nejmeh, the ruins of Samireh, Mreir, Jalu, and Kabelan, to Nablus. Taken in Feb.* 1847.

Von Wildenbruch[2] and Eli Smith[3] both purposed to make a careful examination of the valley of the Jordan, and the district adjacent, but were prevented carrying their plans into execution. I am therefore all the more indebted to my friend Dr H. Barth[4] for making two rapid runs through the country, which, although under very unfavourable circumstances, have thrown considerable light upon a region of which we have heretofore known but little. It is to be hoped that some future traveller will continue the same line of investigation, using what Barth has collected as a basis. The trip which was made by the latter was occasioned by the failure of all his efforts to secure guides through the territory east of the Jordan. This compelled him to open a new route from Jericho to Nablus.

Under the protection of four armed men on horseback, Barth

[1] Robinson, *Bibl. Research.* i. pp. 572-575.
[2] Von Wildenbruch, MS. 1849.
[3] H. Gross, *Anmerk.* p. 58.
[4] Dr Barth, 1847, MS.

left the spring called Ain es Sultan, and passing several graves and the tomb of a saint, and encountering very uneven country, at the end of half an hour reached the fruitful valley known as the Waters of Dosh. Leaving this, and passing the ruined village of Muldam, he reached first the Ras el Ain, and then the upper Wadi Nawaimeh. This wadi takes its origin on the east side of the road from Jerusalem to Nablus, near Taiyibeh (Ophra) and Rumon (Rimmon), and runs eastward towards Jericho. From the site of the tower above Taiyibeh, on one of the highest elevations of the ridge, there is a fine panorama of the whole eastern slope towards the Ghor, the Dead Sea, and the mountains of Belka and Jebel Ajlun.

Dr Barth's course took him to el-Ujah (the el-Aujeh of earlier travellers), and thence to the left, leaving the site of Phasaelis some distance to the right. The violent rain and cold wind and hail interfered very much with the comfort of his journeying, and drove him for shelter to a cave which appeared to lie among ruins dating from Canaanite times. This place, which bears the name Nejemeh, appears to serve as a refuge for the people of Jebel Guddus during the rainy season, while they let their cattle run at large over the adjacent grazing grounds.

Unfortunately the weather was too inclement to allow many observations to be made, and the crowd of beings who were packed together in this subterranean compartment made the place most uncomfortable—a true Tartarus.

The next day the rain continued with little diminution, yet Barth found it better to ride through the rain than to endure longer the imprisonment of the cave. In about forty minutes after starting, the narrow gorge through which he was compelled to pass opened into a fine basin girt with mountains, where he thought there must be a paradise in pleasant weather. Passing on a little farther, he came to a prominent hill which his escort called Samireh. Seetzen's map here gives the name Szamra. At this place, ruins with fine hewn stones were pointed out to him; they evidently indicate the existence there of a once flourishing city: the heights around were full of caves which were inhabited by families.

This ruined city is unquestionably the one of which Robinson was told in Jericho, as lying north of the Wadi Na-

waimeh; it is called by him es-Sumrah.[1] This seems to be the more ancient Shamor on Mount Zemaraim (2 Chron. xiii. 4, 19), whence Abijah the king of Judah summoned his armies into the field to meet Jeroboam, and pursued him beyond Bethel and Ephron (now Taiyibeh). There seems to have been a city also, called after the mountain on which it stood, Zemaraim; for in Josh. xviii. 22, a place of that name is mentioned in direct connection with Beth-el and Beth-arabah, as a city in the territory of Benjamin. It is unquestionably the same place as that connected with king Abijah; and in Grimm's map,[2] and in a Review by Heller, it is treated as identical with el-Sumra and with Zemaraim. Rosenmüller[3] remarks that the name Samaria was applied to a district (1 Kings xiii. 32) before the city which bore the name was built (1 Kings xvi. 24). But as the Zemaraim of Abijah is known to be centuries older, there seems to have been, long prior to the time of Omri, an older Samaria (Shamram), which later was entirely forgotten; for the later building was effected when the house of Jeroboam had become entirely extinct, and when Omri had purchased the mountain of Samaria of Semer, and had laid the foundations of the city of Samaria, which was afterwards to become so conspicuous. Jerome was familiar with the fact that there had been two Samarias, one of which was subsequently known as Sebaste, while the other was lost from historical records till Dr Barth had discovered the locality bearing the name Samireh.

The next interesting object which he reached in his ride, as he went on breaking a path for himself in this unexplored region, was the little village of Mreir, situated on high land, and built of regularly hewn stones, on which, however, he failed to find any inscriptions. Leaving this place, he passed down into the valley, and then entered a ravine full of terraces, which evidently must be of great antiquity, and were constructed of great stones, in order to prevent the soil being washed away by the floods. Going on thence, he came to Jalud,[4] which had before been seen by Schultz, and which lies near the ruins of Karijut.

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* i. p. 568.

[2] Keil, *Comment. zu Josua*, p. 322; Rev. in *Müncher Gel. Anz.* 1836, p. 983.

[3] Rosenmüller, *Bib. Alterthk.* ii. p. 103.

[4] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 266, 267.

He must have passed very near Kefr Istunah, the supposed Alexandrium, though he heard no allusion to the place. He afterwards came to the village of Kabelan, which had already been seen and mentioned by Robinson.[1] The rest of his course was also over ground which had been examined by those who had gone before him.

2. *Dr Barth's Second Excursion from Nablus eastward, north of the Guddus route, by way of Bet (passing Salem, or Shalem) to Tana, Churbet Sammer, and the Wadi Ferra, or Faria: the discovery of a via militaris, and the important place Bet Dejan (Tirzah, or Beth Dagon).*

A second attempt which Barth[2] made to reach Szalt and the east side of the Jordan by a more northern route, was unsuccessful, but it resulted in throwing light upon two or three localities which are of considerable interest.

This time he left the Guddus road at his right, and took his course eastward. The first hour or two carried him over ground which had been examined by others, but soon, bearing a little more southward, he came to a rocky elevation commanding a plain finely tilled, romantically situated, very open to the sun, and displaying a profusion of olive and fig trees, and grape vines.[3] The village close by had fifty houses, all built of ancient hewn stones. Near it was a small chapel. He here encamped for the night.

The next morning he started early, conducted by a guide of the tribe Beni Salem. Here, in this name, is unquestionably preserved the ancient Shalem[4] or Salem, the city of Shechem, to which Jacob came on his way from Mesopotamia to Canaan (Gen. xxxiii. 18). For more than three thousand years, therefore, that old name has clung around the same spot, and has perpetuated itself in the language of the people. Robinson discovered a village Salim east of Nablus, from which the Arabs derive their name Salem. It lies in a line with two other villages, Aztnet and Deir el Hatab, and is the most eastern of the three. They all lie upon high land bounding a wadi on the north, which runs from the great Muchna plain to the

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 272, Note 6.
[2] Dr H. Barth, 1847, MS.
[3] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. p. 280.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 279, Note 1.

Jordan. The existence of this ancient name in connection with a village so near to Nablus or Shechem, shows at least that it is not necessary to consider the name Shalem in Gen. xxxiii. 18 as identical with Shechem—as has been done by Eusebius, Jerome, and others—but that, as Raumer[1] showed before the modern village of Salim was discovered, the name Shalem was given to a place of even greater antiquity than Shechem.

This Salemite Arab then took Barth on till they came to a great cistern hewn out of the rock, and bearing the name of Tana. One hour beyond that they discovered a group of hewn stones lying around in rows, as is often the case on the hills of Palestine: the place was called Churbet Sammer, and may perhaps hint etymologically at the time when the ancient name of Samaria was given to this region, of which more than one of the cities may preserve a trace. Barth went farther on, far enough to glance down the Wadi Ferra in its lower course, and see that it continues from Nablus to the Jordan. The hostility of the Arabs prevented his continuing his course, and compelled him to turn round and retrace his steps, though by a different route.

Taking a course a little northward of that by which he had come, he arrived at courses of walls, indicating in the manner of their placing a former military road fourteen feet in breadth, to which we have but a single allusion in the *Tabula Peutingeriana.*

Three-quarters of an hour's distance from the road he discovered, upon a broad and prominent hill, extensive ruins of hewn stone, while at the foot, and girded with rocks, was a fine piece of arable land. On the western slope of the hill he discovered the locality of another ancient city, now bearing the name Bet Dejan, and consisting of about two hundred houses, mostly built of large stones taken from the ruins of the perished city which once stood on the site. There were also seen several cisterns, and a *cloaca* built of massive stones. This Barth thinks to have been an important place, perhaps the Canaanite royal residence Tirzah mentioned in Josh. xii. 24; the same also in which the kings of Israel resided, till Omri removed his capital to Samaria. The last of the ancient line of

[1] Von Raumer, *Pal.* p. 159, Note 128. See *Beiträge*, p. 32.

Israelite kings closed with Zimri, who burned himself with his palace in Tirzah to the ground. Omri, his successor, reigned six years there before he bought the mountain of Samaria of Shemer for two hundredweight of silver, and built a capital for himself there. Brocardus[1] asserts that Thersa lay three miles east of Samaria, and that thence it was three miles farther on towards the Jordan to Thapne. The name Thersa seems to be another form for Tirzah; and the latter corresponds well with the Hebrew Beth-Dagon, a name which appears in Judah (Josh. xv. 41) and in Asher (Josh. xix. 27), but which does not appear to be met elsewhere in the Old Testament. It is possible, however, as Robinson conjectures,[2] that a Beth-Dagon, not mentioned in the Bible, may have been here.

Dr Barth's farther course took him through an interesting tract before he reached Nablus, but not specially noteworthy, excepting for the ruins of a small place called Tali, and a water reservoir cut out of the rock, apparently to subserve the uses of irrigation.

DISCURSION X.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS REGARDING THE GREAT LINE OF WATERSHED—THE ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE HEIGHTS OF LOCALITIES ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE JORDAN.

From the foregoing accounts, which relate exclusively to the course of the tributaries on the right bank of the Jordan, we get a view of that gradual extension northward, of the line of watershed, which follows the course of the Syrian range of mountains. I have already touched upon that watershed in discussing that portion of the vale of Esdraelon which lies where the Kishon and the Beisan rivers part their waters. From that point it extends southward over the plain el-Muchna, near Nablus, past Turmus, Aja, and Sinjel, to Beitin (Beth-el), Taiyibeh, and Rumon, where Wadi Mutiyah begins its course towards Jericho, and so on, still southward, to the beginning of the Kedron, north of the height on which Jerusalem lies.

This whole district, the broad ridge of a high, uneven table-

[1] Brocardus, *Descr. Terr. Sanctæ*, in Grynæus, *Nov. Orbis*, p. 309.

[2] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* ii. pp. 242, 280, Note 1.

land, is intersected by many deep, rough valleys, which sink towards the Jordan, growing more steep and wild throughout their course, but which are more gentle and terrace-like in their descent westward towards the Mediterranean. The great road from Jerusalem to Nablus, and so on northward to Tabor and Tiberias, follows the line of watershed, because it has the fewest depressions to cross, and for the most part leads through a country easily traversed. It is just on that line that the most important cities were built, not only in the Canaanite, but in the subsequent Jewish time; for there it was a difficult task to command the vales. Upon this line lay Bethel, Shiloh, Nablus, Shechem, Tirzah, Jezreel, and many other ancient residences of the patriarchs Abraham and Jacob,—the places where the ark of the covenant was kept during the days of Samuel and Saul, the most important fortresses and royal cities of the Canaanites, as well as of the later kings of Judah and Israel,—until, through political and other circumstances, other localities were brought more prominently forward.

Between the ravines, clefts, and wadis which cross this uneven table-land, there are frequent rocky crags and ridges which stand in some connection with it, and which yet thrust themselves boldly eastward, and slope abruptly towards the Jordan valley. These are in great part the sites of ancient fortresses, towers, watch-posts, whose ruins, generally of hewn stones, cover the ground, their great extent testifying plainly to the large population of the country in ancient times. The shallow depressions often cross[1] each other on the line of the watershed, and then part: their courses are therefore often hard to trace, particularly in the dry season, when there are no brooks which of themselves show the natural direction of the waters. Oftentimes wadis lie very near together in their commencement, which in their later courses are far apart, even if they do not take diametrically opposite directions: in this case they leave scarcely any ridge between for the comfortable passage of caravans. There is such a multiplicity of details, and at the same time such a lack of marked and dominant forms, that it is very difficult to completely master the geography of the central region. On the high line of the watershed the road can be taken now on the right side and now on the left,

[1] Robinson, *Bib. Research.* i. pp. 258–438.

according to the wish or the business of the tourist, the political condition of the country, and the comparative degree of security of the different parts of the country. This has occasioned a great many different reports of travellers, many of which seem to contradict each other. If the east side is followed, there is a succession of rocky paths, some easy, some difficult, compelling to much climbing up and down the defiles, some of them leading to interjacent valleys, which are exceedingly fertile in spring, but which in summer dry up and become parched and waste.

From seeing this district in the dry season, the impression has become only too general, that the whole Jordan valley between Beisan and Jericho, and extending westward even as far as the high lands of Judæa and Samaria, is a desert. This impression, though conveyed by travellers as guarded as Burckhardt even, is really a false one, and there are only a few tracts which are so thoroughly neglected as to present the appearance of waste land.[1] On the contrary, the countless ruins which are found in this district, the traces of olive plantations and of vineyards, the fields, even yet partially tilled, and in particular the very fertile patches of meadow land and pasture lands for cattle, show what nature intended that this tract should be, and that it is to human improvidence and folly alone that it is due, that a country once so fruitful should be surrendered to the mere occupancy of lawless Beduins.

The citations from travellers given in the preceding pages show conclusively how far eastward of the line of watershed the bounds of population extended in former times. Unquestionably the careful study of that line of watershed, and of the character of the wadis on the east, and an exact estimate of the heights and depressions of the district between that line and the Jordan, would throw much light upon the physical character of the entire district. At present we have not a specific measurement of any but the most important heights upon the watershed line between Jerusalem and Tabor. These give but general results regarding the elevation of the district above the sea.[2]

[1] Von Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 73.

[2] Von Wildenbruch, *Profil. Mon. Ber.* vol. iii. p. 251; Von Schubert, Erdl, and Steinheil, in *Münch. Gel. Anz.* 1840, p. 382; Russegger, *Ueber die Depression, etc.*, in Poggendorf's *Annal.* p. 186.

They are the following :—

1. *Absolute Heights above the Ocean.*

1. Hebron, 2644 Paris feet above the sea, according to von Schubert.
2. Jerusalem, 2349 feet (v. Wildenbruch), 2472 (v. Schubert).
3. Ain Yebrud, N. of Bethel, and near the origin of Wadi Mutiyah, or W. Nawaimeh, 2208 feet (von Wildenbruch).
4. Sinjel, near Turmus Aja, 2520 feet (von Schubert).
5. Nablus, at the origin of Wadi Faria, 1568 feet (von Wildenbruch), 1751 (von Schubert).
6. Jenin, 258 feet (von Wilden.), 514 (von Schubert), at the southern source of the Kishon.
7. Plain of Esdraelon, on the road from Jenin to Nazareth, 438 feet (von Schubert), *i.e.* at the western base of Tabor, and at the source of the northern source of the Kishon.
8. Plain of Nazareth, 821 feet (von Schubert).

The heights rising above this high and yet varying plateau are—

Mount of Olives, 2509 feet (von Wilden.) above the sea.
Mount Gerizim, 2398 feet (von Schubert) „ „
Above the vale of Nazareth is the convent, 820 feet (von Schubert), 1161 (Russegger). The summit of Tabor is 1683 feet (von Wilden.), 1747 (von Schubert), 1755 (Russegger).

The depressions eastward below the level of the Mediterranean are—

1. The Dead Sea, 1351 feet (von Wildenbruch), 598 (von Schubert), 1290 (De Bertou), 1341 (Russegger), and 1231 (Symonds).
2. Jericho at Ain Sultan, 640 feet (v. Wildenbruch), 527 (von Schubert), 717 (Russegger at Riha).
3. Lake Tiberias, 793 feet (v. Wildenbruch), 535 (v. Schubert), 625 (Russegger), 307 (Symonds).

2. *Relative Heights above the surrounding district.*

The relative heights of the localities just indicated must have far different relations to each other than to the level of

the Mediterranean, which is common to them all: this is the case because the Jordan basin, with which they all have more or less connection, has no uniform level, but is constantly rising towards the north. I cite a few places, in order to show their relative height, but must compare together those which are on the same parallel of latitude. The measurements are mainly those of von Wildenbruch and von Schubert.

Relative heights, as they appear to the eye of a traveller on the east side:

1. Jerusalem above the Dead Sea, 2344 + 1351 = 3700 Paris feet. The Mount of Olives is about two hundred feet higher.
2. Ain Yebrud, above Jericho at Ain Sultan, 2208 + 630 = 2838: above the plain of Jericho, 2208 + 926 = 3134 feet.
3. Mount Gerizim, above Lake Tiberias, 2398 + 793 = 3191 Paris feet: above the city of Nablus and the Muchna plain, only 1377 feet. The city of Nablus, 1568 + 793 = 2361 feet above Lake Tiberias.
4. The plain of Esdraelon, at the foot of Tabor, 438 + 739 = 1231 feet.
5. Vale of Nazareth, 821 + 793 = 1614 feet.
6. Mount Tabor, 1683 + 793 = 2476 feet above Lake Tiberias: above the plain of Esdraelon, 1309 feet.

The impressions which grow out of this blending of absolute and relative heights are very curious and perplexing. In some cases, as in that of Gerizim for example, the absolute height is not equal to that of the German Brocken, while the relative height is hundreds of feet more. There may, too, be found villages and towns lying on the plateau which forms the water-shed, and which are as high or even higher than some peaks of mountains which have celebrated names. Jerusalem, for example, lies as high as the summit of Gerizim, and six hundred feet higher than that of Tabor; while the Mount of Olives is eleven feet lower than the plateau at Sinjel and Turmus Aja on the great road to Damascus. The whole of the high ridge which runs northward from Jerusalem, with its rolling surface and frequent ravines, shelves away towards the plain of

Esdraelon till it attains an absolute elevation of only about three or four hundred feet, where a short district of lowland is formed, which passes eastward through the Gate, so to call it, of Jezreel, and connects with Wadi Beisan and the Ghor. It gradually ascends on the north, first swelling upward in the vale of Nazareth, then attaining the heights on which Safed lies; and then passing on, forms the connecting ridge between the mountainous country of the south and the Lebanon.

We close these remarks with a weighty observation of Gross[1] regarding the physical character of the region which we have been considering. He notices that, in the district lying between the Wadi el Aujeh and Turmus Aja on the one side, and Wadi Faria on the other, the central mountain region thrusts itself farther towards the east than it does elsewhere, and the heights along the eastern border of this elevated district attain an altitude equal to that of the more western ones. The slope towards the Jordan is consequently much shorter there than in the parallel of Jerusalem and Hebron, and at the same time not proportionally steep, since the comparatively slight depression of the Jordan valley does not make so great a fall necessary.

[1] H. Gross, *Anmerk.* in *Z. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.* vol. iii. p. 57.

APPENDIX I.

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITIONS,

ACCORDING TO C. W. M. VAN DE VELDE.

Names of Places.	Lat. N.	Long. E. of Greenwich.
Tarâbulus (Tripolis): the village at the harbour, Minet Tarâbulus, by construction of itineraries from Beirût,	34°27′ 0″	35°47′ 50″
Seetzen, Aug. 1766, obs. of alt.,	34 27 30	
Tarâbulus, house of the French consul, by construction as before,	34 26 0	35 50 10
Berghaus, from Gauttier and Hell,	34 26 24	35 50 25
Capt. Corry,		35 50 40
Ras esh Shukaĭ (Theuprosopon),	34 19 30	35 38 30
The lat. is from Hell and Gauttier (Berghaus' *Memoir*), the long. derived from the long. of Tarâbulus. Perhaps the long. of Hell and Gauttier refers to the highest summit of the promontory,		35 41 13
Our fig. refers to the most western cliff.		
Maj. Scott's map,	34 18 15	35 39 30
El-Batrûn (Botrys), by construction of itineraries,	34 16 30	35 38 0
Jebeil (Byblus, Gebal), by construction of itineraries,	34 8 30	35 37 30

Names of Places.	Lat. N.	Long. E. of Greenwich.
Beirût (Berytus), castle N.E. side of the town, from the Admiralty map of Beirut Bay, C. H. Dillon, 1842. The long. by construction of triang. from Saida and the coast,	33° 54′ 42″	35° 29′ 30″
Callier's map,	33 51 30	35 27 15
Maj. Scott's map,	33 54 5	35 27 35
Râs Beirût, by construction of triang. from Beirut, Saida, and the coast,	33 54 20	35 27 0
Berghaus, from Gauttier and Hell (evidently erroneous),	33 49 45	35 26 5
Deir-el-Kamar, by construction of itineraries,	33 43 25	35 35 0
Riblah, by construction of triangles and itineraries,	34 27 30	36 33 30
Kamoa el Hurmul, by construction of triangles and itineraries,	34 21 30	36 24 15
The Cedars, by construction of triangles and itineraries,	34 13 45	36 1 25
Ba'albek, ruin of the large temple, by construction of triangles and itineraries,	33 59 30	36 10 5
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries (the long. is far too much w.),	33 58 10	36 2 5
Arrowsmith's map (from Corry?),	34 0 20	36 13 20
Zahleh, Centre, from construction of itineraries,	33 51 15	35 53 35
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries,	33 49 10	35 49 45
Jubb Jenin, from construction of itineraries,	33 37 45	35 46 40
Zebedany, from construction of itineraries,	33 43 35	36 4 20

Names of Places.	Lat. N.	Long. E. of Greenwich.
Zuk Wadi Barada, from Porter's survey, compared with other itineraries, .	33° 38′ 30″	36° 4′ 55″
Ritter (xvii. 1278) gives, . .	33 40 0	36 9 0
Saidnaya, by construction of Porter's survey, ...	33 44 0	36 18 25
Kuteifeh, by construction of Porter's survey, ...	33 45 50	36 34 30
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries, ...	33 43 0	36 41 5
Yabrud, by construction of Porter's survey, ...	34 1 30	36 37 25
Nebk, by construction from Porter's survey, ...	34 3 55	36 43 40
Kara, by construction from Porter's survey, ...	34 12 30	36 45 15
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries, ...	34 12 0	36 51 45
Hasya, by construction of Porter's survey, ...	34 27 20	36 45 45
Saida (Sidon), Sea Castle, from the Admiralty map; observations of H. A. Ormsby, I.N., 1833, . .		35 25 0
From construction of triangles, .	33 34 0	35 21 50
Berghaus, MS. letter of Capt. Washington, ...	33 34 5	35 21 48
Callier's map, ...	33 34 0	35 21 30
Niebuhr, ...	33 33 15	
Berghaus, observations of Hell (the house of the French Consul, which is a little more S. than the Sea Castle), ...	33 33 40	35 21 18
Ras Surafend, the low round cape, from construction of triangles and itineraries, ...	33 28 5	35 17 15

Names of Places.	Lat. N.	Long. E. of Greenwich.
Berghaus (observations of Hell), the ruined tower on a projecting rock 30″ to the N. and 45″ to the E. of the cape, ...	33° 30′ 0″	35° 18′ 54″
Nahr el Kasimiyeh, mouth, by construction of triangles and itineraries, .	33 20 20	35 14 15
Tur (Tyre), the ruined lighthouse on rock N. side of city; observations of H. A. Ormsby, 1831, . .	33 17 0	35 15 0
Tur (Tyre), the minaret, by construction of triangles, ...	33 16 50	35 12 0
Berghaus, from Gauttier and G. Vial,	33 17 0	35 12 45
Callier's map, ...	33 17 10	35 12 15
Maj. Scott's map, . . .	33 16 0	35 11 20
Ras el Abiad (Cape Blanco), N. end of westernmost cliff, by construction of triangles, ...	33 10 25	35 10 50
Berghaus, from Galiano, . .	33 11 30	35 7 15
Berghaus, from Hell and by construction; perhaps Galiano's and Hell's observations refer to the central or highest part of the broad promontory, ...	33 12 10	35 8 55
Maj. Scott's map, . . .	33 10 30	35 9 30
Ras en Nakura, the ruined tower on the summit, from Symonds' triangles, and based upon the lat. and long. of Akka, ...	33 5 25	35 6 40
Berghaus acc. to Gauttier, . .	33 5 10	35 5 35
Akka (Acre), the castle, Admiralty map observations of C. H. Dillon, 1843,	32 54 51	35 8 0
Niebuhr, from observations of two stars' alt., 15th Aug. 1766, .	32 55 23	
Major Scott's map, . . .	32 55 25	35 3 20
Lynch's map, ...	32 56 0	35 4 20

Names of Places.	Lat. N.	Long. E. of Greenwich.
Callier's map, ...	32° 56′ 55″	35° 4′ 15″
Jacotin, ...	32 56 0	35 23 30
Berghaus, from Gauttier and Hell (the French Consulate), . .	32 55 35	35 4 15
Berghaus, letter from Capt. Washington, ...		35 4 20
The mean lat. of Dillon, Niebuhr, Scott, Gauttier, and Hell, for Akka, castle, ...	32 55 16	
The long. from Gauttier and Hell, .		35 4 30
Haifa, castle on sea-side, by construction of Symonds' triangulation and the adopted position of Akka, . .	32 48 45	35 0 45
Obs. of J. Aylen, master of H.M.S. Madagascar, 1832 (Admiralty map), ...	32 52 0	35 2 0
These observations are evidently not correct.		
Mount Carmel, the convent, from Symonds' triangulation and Akka's position, ...	32 49 30	34 58 30
Berghaus, Marquis de Chabert, .	32 50 0	34 58 55
Mount Carmel, the north-westernmost cape, ...	32 50 25	34 58 20
Berghaus, reduc. from his position of Akka, ...	32 50 25	34 58 0
Mount Carmel, el-Mohraka, reduc. from Akka's position by Symonds' triangulation, ...	32 39 20	35 6 0
Athlit (cast. Peregrinorum), reduc. from Symonds' triangulation and by itineraries, ...	32 41 30	34 56 15
Berghaus, from Hell, who mistook these ruins for those of Cæsarea,	32 41 5	
Tantura, the ruined tower, constructed from triangulation, . . .	32 35 50	34 55 0

Names of Places.	Lat. N.	Long. E. of Greenwich.
Jezzin, by construction of itineraries, .	33° 34′ 0″	35° 33′ 0″
Hasbeiya, Emir's palace, . . .	33 25 13	35 41 0
The lat. from Lynch's table of lat. and long. in his official report; the long. reduc. from construction of triangles and itineraries.		
Kul'at esh Shukif (Belfort), from construction of triangles, . .	33 20 30	35 32 0
Banias, centre of village, constructed by triangles, ...	33 16 0	35 41 30
Berghaus, by triangles, obtained from itineraries of Burckhardt and Buckingham (erroneous), . .	33 9 20	35 45 5
Tibnin, castle, constructed by triangles,	33 12 30	35 25 35
Bahr el Huleh, s. end, where the Jordan issues from the lake, constructed by triangles, ...	33 3 20	35 38 15
Jisr Benat Yakub, constructed by triangles, ...	33 2 20	35 38 40
Berghaus, by construction of triangles,	33 2 50	35 38 35
Safed, the ruined castle on the summit above the town, from Symonds' triangulation, ...	32 58 30	35 31 50
Berghaus, ...	32 57 42	35 30 25
Lake of Tiberias, N. end, entrance of the Jordan, by construction of Symonds' triangulation, . .	32 53 50	35 39 20
Observations of Lynch (official report), ...	32 53 37	
Observations of Lieut. Molyneux, . (See Ritter, xv. 283; from *Journ. R. Geogr. Soc.* vol. xviii. 1848, p. 107.)	32 52 30	
Berghaus, ...	32 55 0	

Names of Places.	Lat. N.	Long. E. of Greenwich.
Tubariyeh (Tiberias), the castle, .	32°46′ 14″	35°35′ 50″
The latter is from Lynch's observation, which agrees perfectly with the lat. as derived from Symonds' triangulation.		
Major Scott's map, . . .	32 47 0	35 32 0
Callier's map, ...	32 46 15	35 36 0
Isambert's map, ...	32 46 32	35 33 20
Corry in Arrowsmith's map, .	32 46 18	35 30 30
Berghaus, ...	32 48 8	35 32 35
Lake of Tiberias, southern end, issue of the Jordan, ...	32 42 21	35 37 55
The lat. is from Lynch's observations (official report), agreeing perfectly with the latter as obtained by Symonds' triangulation.		
Mount Tabor, ruined convent on summit, from Symonds' triangulation,	32 41 30	35 25 30
Nazareth, centre, from Symonds' triangulation, ...	32 42 0	35 19 55
Major Scott's map, . . .	32 42 0	35 17 0
Callier's map, ...	32 42 35	35 18 30
Berghaus, ...	32 42 58	35 16 40
Lynch's map, ...	32 43 5	35 19 0
Damascus, the castle, by construction from itineraries, . . .	33 31 20	36 15 30
Berghaus, from Seetzen's observations, 1805, ...	33 32 28	
Berghaus, from construction of itineraries, ...		36 20 15
There may be a difference of 30″ or 40″ in lat. between the castle and the place of Seetzen's observation which Berghaus does not mention (probably the Latin convent). Taking this into account, the lati-		

Names of Places.	Lat. N.	Long. E. of Greenwich.
tudes, as observed by Seetzen, and obtained by construction in Van der Velde's map, seem to agree within 30″.		
Porter's map (five years in Damascus),	33° 33′ 25″	36° 6′ 40″
Katana, by construction of Porter's survey, and itineraries, . . .	33 27 20	36 4 15
Mount Hermon, ruined temple on summit, by construction of triangles, .	33 26 10	35 49 30
Kesweh, by construction of itineraries and Porter's survey, . . .	33 22 10	36 13 25
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries,	33 26 0	36 15 35
S'as'a, by construction of itineraries, .	33 17 45	36 3 30
Kuneitirah, by construction of itineraries,	33 9 0	35 49 30
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries, ...	33 8 3	35 52 7
Sunamein (Acre), by construction of itineraries, ...	33 7 50	36 9 0
Nawa (Neve), by construction of itineraries, ...	32 57 0	36 1 45
Tseil, by construction of itineraries, .	32 53 30	35 57 5
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries,	32 50 53	35 54 45
Tell el Feras, by construction of triangles,	33 0 10	35 51 55
Berghaus, by construction of triangles,	32 56 28	35 47 42
Fik (Apheca), by construction of triangles,	32 46 10	35 44 25
El-Mazárib, by construction of itineraries,	32 46 35	36 6 0
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries,	32 46 20	36 13 32
Dera (Edrei), by construction of itineraries,	32 42 20	36 9 5
Eshmiskin, by construction of itineraries,	32 53 0	36 10 0
Edhr'a (Zora), by construction of itineraries, ...	32 55 55	36 13 0
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries,	33 1 22	36 19 35
Arrowsmith's map, . . .	32 58 0	36 21 30

Names of Places.	Lat. N.	Long. E. of Greenwich.
Musmeih (Phaenos), by construction of itineraries,	33° 10′ 45″	36° 22′ 30″
Bathaniyeh (Batanea), by construction of Porter's survey,	33 2 40	36 41 40
Kunawat (Kenath), by construction of Porter's survey,	32 47 30	36 36 0
Kuleib (highest peak of Jeb. Ha'uran), from Porter's survey,	32 39 50	36 39 0
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries,	32 39 35	36 47 55
Sulkhad (Salcah), by construction of Porter's survey,	32 28 25	36 39 30
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries,	32 29 30	36 52 48
Busrah (Bozrah), by construction of Porter's survey, and other itineraries,	32 29 40	36 26 30
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries,	32 26 25	36 40 5
Berghaus, Arrowsmith's map,	32 35 30	36 27 15
Irbid (Arbela), by construction of itineraries,	32 34 30	36 0 20
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries,	32 39 48	36 2 32
Abil (Abila), by construction of itineraries,	32 39 30	35 53 0
Um-Keis (Gadara), by construction of itineraries,	32 37 30	35 43 10
Tubakat Fahel (Pella), by construction of triangles,	32 27 10	35 39 5
Jisr Mejami'a (on the Jordan), by construction of itineraries, compared with Lynch's route,	32 37 5	35 36 0
Beisan (Beth-shean), the Tell, by construction of triangles,	32 29 45	35 32 15
Berghaus,	32 35 25	35 32 33
Berghaus, from Corry in Arrowsmith's map,	32 29 30	35 35 55
Lynch's map,	32 33 0	

Names of Places.	Lat. N.	Long. E. of Greenwich.
Zer'in (Jizreel), by construction of triangles, ...	32° 32′ 40″	35° 21′ 0″
Jebel Duhy, wely on the summit, from Symonds' triangulation, . .	32 36 15	35 22 20
Jenin (en-Gannim), by construction of triangles, ...	32 26 40	35 20 0
Kaisariyeh (Cæsarea), the castle at sea-side, by construction of itineraries,	32 29 30	34 52 40
Berghaus, from Gauttier, . .	32 32 25	34 53 4
Berghaus, Jacotin, . . .	32 32 0	34 54 5
Yofa (Joppe), the citadel, from Symonds' triangulation, ...	32 2 0	34 47 25
Niebuhr, observations of two stars' alt.	32 3 22	.
Callier's map, ...	32 3 20	34 43 45
Hell (Berghaus), ...	32 2 30	.
Gauttier (Berghaus), . . .	33 3 25	34 44 15
These observations refer, perhaps, to a point somewhere in the northern part of the city; whereas the citadel is in the southern part. Allowance of 30″ might consequently be made.		
Maj. Scott's map, . . .	32 6 25	34 45 20
Maj. Scott's too northerly position must be explained from his too northerly position of Jerusalem.		
Ramleh, the martyr's tower, from Symonds' triangulation, . .	31 55 5	34 54 0
Berghaus, from Jacotin, . .	31 56 18	
Berghaus, from Robinson and Smith's itineraries in 1838, . . .		34 50 15
Yebnah (Jabneh), by construction of triangles, ...	31 51 10	34 47 0

Names of Places.	Lat. N.	Long. E. of Greenwich.
Jerusalem, the citadel, from Symonds' triangulation,	31° 46′ 50″	34° 47′ 0″
Niebuhr, 1766, obs. with great care,	31 46 34	
Seetzen, for the Convent of Terra Sancta,	31 47 47	
Moore and Beke,	31 45 45	
Capt. Corry (the long. by moon's distance),	31 46 46	35 12 51
Callier's map,	31 47 40	35 15 20
Lynch's map,	31 46 40	35 13 0
Berghaus (the lat. from itineraries and long. from itineraries of Robinson and Smith, 1838), compared with Seetzen's moon's distances,	31 46 42	35 13 41
Robinson (lat. *B. R.* p. 183), as communicated by the Admiralty in London to Mr Finn, H.M. Consul in Jerusalem,	31 46 35	35 18 30
Seilun (Shiloh), by construction of triangles and itineraries,	32 2 30	35 17 55
Nabulus (Shechem), wely on Mount Gerizim, by construction of triangles,	32 10 10	35 17 5
Sebustiyeh (Samaria), the ruined church, by construction of triangles,	32 14 50	35 12 30
Kurn Surtabeh, from Symonds' triangulation, and our own bearings,	32 5 45	35 31 20
Jordan, ford of the Nabulus es Salt, road, from construction by triangles and itineraries,	32 6 30	35 35 10
Jisr Damieh, near the ford,	32 7 15	35 35 0
Lynch's observations at encampment near Jisr Damieh,	32 7 24	

Names of Places.	Lat. N.	Long. E. of Greenwich.
Er-Riha, tower, ...	31° 51′ 0″	35° 28′ 20″
Berghaus, ...	31 52 47	35 30 5
Kul'at er Rubud, by construction of triangles, ...	32 19 20	35 47 30
Berghaus, construction of itineraries,	32 25 45	35 56 26
Jerash (Gerasa), by construction of itineraries, ...	32 17 0	35 56 50
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries, ...	32 21 30	36 6 5
Arrowsmith's map, . . .	32 20 50	36 5 25
Astronomical observations of Moore,	32 16 30	
Es-Salt (Ramoth-Gilead), by construction of itineraries, . . .	32 1 50	35 47 30
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries, ...	32 6 26	32 50 13
Amman (Rabbath-Ammon), by construction of itineraries, . .	31 55 30	35 59 30
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries, ...	31 59 8	36 3 8
Hesbon (Heshbon), by construction of itineraries, ...	31 44 55	35 48 55
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries, ...	31 50 18	35 54 33
Um el Rusas, by construction of itineraries, ...	31 34 20	36 6 15
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries, ...	31 39 52	36 12 40
Shihan (Shihon), by construction of itineraries, ...	31 25 15	35 45 50
Berghaus, by construction of itineraries, ...	31 30 8	35 47 5
Kerah (Kir-Moab), the castle, by construction of itineraries and triangles,	31 13 20	35 43 10

Names of Places.	Lat. N.	Long. E. of Greenwich.
Rabba (Rabbath-Moab), by construction of itineraries, ...	31° 19′ 35″	35° 42′ 30″
The Dead Sea, s. end; Jeb. Usdum, cave, by construction of itineraries and triangles, ...	31 6 25	35 26 35
Kul'at Um-Baghek, by construction of itineraries, ...	31 10 50	35 24 10
Sebbeh (Masada), by construction of triangles, ...	31 19 30	35 24 30
Ain Jiddy (Engedi), the fountain, observations by Lynch, . . .	31 27 55	35 28 0
Long. by construction of triangles, .		35 26 15
Ain Terabeh, Lynch's encampment near the fountain, observ. with care, .	31 35 54	35 27 15
The fountain, a little more s., . .	31 35 35	35 27 20
Ain el Feshkhah, Lynch's encampment near the fountain, . . .	31 42 54	35 30 12
Long. by construction of triangles, .		35 29 5
W. Zerka Ma'in, mouth, by construction of triangles, ...	31 36 15	35 34 40
W. Mojib (Arnon river), Lynch's camp near the mouth, . . .	31 27 50	35 36 0
Beit Lahm (Bethlehem), Latin Convent, derived by triangles from Symonds' position of Jerusalem, . .	31 43 35	35 13 40
El-Khulil (Hebron), by construction of itineraries, ...	31 31 0	35 8 25
Moore, by astronomical observations,	31 31 30	
Callier's map, ...	31 31 10	35 12 15
Lynch's map, ...	31 32 30	35 8 20
Berghaus, calculated from azimuth of Jerusalem in Seetzen's map, .	31 31 30	35 12 25

Names of Places.	Lat. N.	Long. E. of Greenwich.
Arrowsmith's map, ...	31° 30′ 0″	35° 10′ 15″
Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. 432), the long. is derived from itineraries from Jerusalem, Ramleh, Gaza, and 'Akabah, ...	31 32 30	35 8 20
Beit Jibrin (Eleutheropolis), by construction of itineraries, . . .	31 36 0	34 56 0
Esdud (Ashdod), by construction of itineraries, ...	31 43 30	34 42 45
Askulan (Ashkelon), the khan, by construction of itineraries, . .	31 38 0	34 36 30
Berghaus, from Gauttier, . .	31 39 0	34 31 0
Ghuzzeh (Gaza), the highest minaret in centre of the town, by construction of itineraries and triangles, .	31 29 45	34 33 10
Berghaus, MS. letter from Captain Washington, ...	31 28 0	34 30 0
Berghaus, constructed from Gauttier's position of Yafa, . . .	31 27 20	34 27 0
Callier's map, ...	31 27 45	34 30 15
Maj. Scott's map, . . .	31 35 5	34 31 10
These figures show great discrepancy. But as Askulan's latitude is pretty secure, and as we could not make a great mistake in the distance, which we travelled over from Askulan to Gaza, we feel rather confident in Gaza's latitude as obtained by our construction.		
Bir es Seba (Beer Sheba), the wells, by construction of itineraries, . .	31 16 10	34 54 25
Kurnub (Thamara), by construction of itineraries, ...	31 6 0	35 7 45
Khulasah (Elusa), by construction of itineraries, ...	31 5 30	34 49 0

APPENDIX II.

ALTITUDES,

ACCORDING TO VAN DER VELDE, AND THE MOST RECENT AUTHORITIES CITED BY HIM.

Jebel Akkar, ...	6980	Mansell.
Dhor el Khodib, or Jebel el Meskiyeh, highest sum. of Lebanon,	10051	Scott ; Mansell, 10061.
Furn el Mizab, near the former, N.E. of the Cedars, . .	9996	Mansell; 9621, von Wildenbruch.
Another summit S. of the Cedars,	9553	Mansell.
High ridge S.W. of the Cedars, .	9209	Mansell.
The Cedars, ...	6315	Scott; 6700, Mansell ; 6400, Russegger; 6264, von Schubert; 5898, von Wildenbruch.
Source of the torrent of Bsherreh, below the Cedars, . . .	6437	Mansell.
Highest point of the Lebanon Pass on the road from Baalbek to the Cedars, . . .	7624	Von Schubert.
Mar Eliyas, E. of Kanobin, .	6044	Mansell.
Deir Saideh, N. of Kanobin, .	5513	Mansell.
Hazrun, W. of Bsherreh, . .	5292	V. Wildenbruch.
Ehden, ...	4747	V. Schubert.
Ainat, vill. on road Cedars—Baalbek,	5317	Russegger.
Jebel Ayto, summit, . .	6347	Mansell.
Ayun el Allak, springs E.S.E. of Tanurin, ...	6435	Mansell.

Merj Ahin, meadow basin in the N. part of Lebanon, . .	5600	Scott; 5577, French Carte du Liban.
Lebanon Pass, S.W. of Akurah, .	4296	Allen.
Source of Nahr Ibrahim, near Akurah, ...	5972	Von Wildenbruch.
Afka, ...	4560	Allen.
Jebel Sunnin, ...	8162	Mansell; 8554, Scott; 8283, Marshal Marmont.
Jebel Sunnin, N.W. top, . .	8062	Mansell.
Jebel el Keneiseh, . . .	6824	Scott; 6666, Mansell; 6660, Carte du Liban; 7245, v. Wildenbruch.
A summit immediately south of Jebel el Keneiseh, . .	7232	Mansell.
Another summit a little more S.E.,	7290	Mansell.
Another summit S.W. of the former,	7054	Mansell.
Another summit still farther S.W.,	6748	Mansell.
Summit S. of Ain Khureibeh, .	6153	Mansell.
Tomat Niha (the twin peaks), the highest summit of southern Lebanon, ...	5620	Mansell; 6070, Carte du Liban.
Pass of el-Jurd, N. of Jebel el Keneiseh, ...	5762	Scott; 4905, Allen; 4969, Duc de Raguse.
Pass el-Mughitheh, S. of Jebel el Keneiseh, ...	5342	V. Wildenbruch.
Pass of the new carriage road near Jebel el Keneiseh, . .	4462	Carte du Liban.
Khan Mudeirej (Beirut carriage road), ...	4814	V. Wildenbruch; seems too high.
Khan Ruweiset el Hamra, . .	4003	Carte du Liban; 3852, v. Wildenbruch.
Summit W. of Khan Mudeiref, .	4929	Mansell.

Bhamdun, ...	4334	Mansell; 3792, v. Wildenbruch.
Khan Hosein, ...	3114	Russegger.
Khan to the E. and above Kehaleh,	3255	Mansell.
Summit S.E. of this khan, . .	4587	Mansell.
Khan Shekh Mahmud, . .	2560	Carte du Liban.
Mar Ishaya, ...	2733	Mansell.
Convent between Mar Ishaya and Bhonis, ...	2911	Mansell.
Muristah, ...	5413	Scott.
Jezzin, ...	2723	Carte du Liban; 2875, De Bertou.
Deir Mishmushy, . . .	3982	Mansell.
Rum, ...	1870	V. d. Velde.
Rummiet Rum, summit N. of Rum,	2855	V. d. Velde; 3351, Mansell.
Kefr Milkeh, ...	1270	De Forest.
Jebeah, the castle, . . .	2486	De Forest.
Jurjua, ...	2648	De Forest.
Beit Miry, convent, . . .	2589	Mansell; 2173, in Mansell's map of Beirut roads.
El-Abadiyeh, ...	1500	Hutter, quot. in Ritter, xvii. p. 477.
Areiya, ...	1731	Von Wildenbruch.
Deir el Kula'h, . . .	2200	De Forest.
Hadireh, ...	2068	Mansell; 2089, in Mansell's map of Beirut roads.
Bukfeiya, ...	4544	Mansell; 3073, Allen.
A summit W. of Meruj, . .	4587	Mansell.
Mar Eliyas er Ras, . . .	1862	Mansell.
Deir Luwisa, near Nahr el Kelb,	701	Mansell.
Mar Yusuf el Burj, near Nahr el Kelb, ...	505	Mansell.
Mar Rokus, near el-Beirut, .	582	Mansell.
Zuk el Gharb, . . .	3062	Mansell.
Keifun, ...	2963	Mansell.

Aiteh, ...	2102	Mansell.
El Ghazir in Kesrawan, . .	1161	Mansell.
Summit E. of Burjeh above Wadi M'amiltein, ...	2004	Mansell.
Burj Rihani, ...	290	Mansell.
Ruined castle of Semar, . .	1823	Mansell.
Ras es Shukah, . . .	618	Mansell.
Deir Belment, . . .	946	Mansell.
Summit S. of Deir Belment, .	1336	Mansell.
Mar Yakub, ...	749	Mansell.
Naby Safi (Jebel Rihan), . .	4443	Mansell.
Kefr Milkeh, ...	1270	De Forest.
Jebeah, the castle, . . .	2486	De Forest.
Jurju'a, ...	2648	De Forest.
Naby Safi (Jebel Rihan), . .	4443	Mansell.
A summit N.E. of it, . . .	4167	Mansell.
Naby Sejud, ...	3379	Mansell.
Naby Abu Rekab, . . .	5391	Mansell.
Lebanon Pass S. of Tomat Niha, .	4835	De Forest.
Kefr Huneh, ...	3031	De Bertou; seems too low.
Jisr Burghuz, ...	1186	De Bertou.
Belat, village S. of Jisr Burghuz,	1946	De Forest.
El-Madineh, in Wadi Jermak, .	1414	De Forest.
Arnun and Kefr Tibnit, . .	1790	De Forest.
Kul'at esh Shukif, . . .	2205	De Forest; 2115, Mansell; 1990, Carte du Liban.
Nubathiyeh, the khan, . .	1475	V. d. Velde; 1280, Carte du Liban.
Khan Mehemed 'Aly, . .	1062	V. d. Velde.
Zifteh, ...	1180	Carte du Liban.
Tell Dibbin (Ijon) in Merj Ayun, .	1770	Carte du Liban.
Jisr Khardeli under Kul'at esh Shukif, ...	700	De Forest; 559, v. Wildenbruch.
Highest point of road from Kankaba to Jisr Burghuz on ridge between the Litany and Hasbany, ...	2300	De Forest.

Ukbiyeh, village on Ras Surafend,	496	Mansell.
Zekhzakiyeh, ...	350	Mansell.
Ṣidara, ...	916	Mansell.
Naby Seir, ...	493	Mansell.
Kefr Dibbeh, ...	890	Mansell.
Zerariyeh, ...	840	Mansell.
Summit S. of the khan near bridge on the Nahr el Kasimiyeh, .	557	Mansell.
El-Halusiyeh, ...	825	Mansell.
Marakeh, ...	809	Mansell.
Ter Dibbeh, between Marakeh and Tyre, ...	681	Mansell.
Hattin, ...	464	Roth.
Kaukab el Hawa, . . .	1057	Mansell.
Aulam, ...	762	Roth.
Mount Carmel, convent, . .	489	Symonds ; 603, Mansell; 620, von Schubert ; 551, Allen.
Mount Carmel, highest part, .	1861	Mansell.
Esfia, ...	1729	Symonds.
El-Mohraka, ...	1635	Symonds ; 1837, Mansell.
Summit of hills E. of Iksim, .	614	Mansell.
Kefr Lam, ...	118	Mansell.
Highest part of ridge west of el-Lejjun, ...	1381	Mansell.
Naby Iskander, above Um el Fahm,	1866	Mansell.
Bluff rocky point near Cæsarea, Khusu-Maher, . . .	457	Mansell.
Jebel Julbun or Fukua, . .	1716	Mansell.
Fukua village, . . .	1555	
Highest point of Gilboa range, .	2200	
Jenin, ...	550	Von Schubert; 420, Allen; 275, von Wildenbruch ; 708, Mansell.
Highest summit of ridge E. of Jenin,	1773	Mansell.
Shekh Shibbel, above Kefr Kud,	1664	Mansell.
Yabud, ...	1315	Mansell.

Zebdeh,	1047	Mansell.	
Ridge w. of Arrubeh,	1290	Mansell.	
Peak s.w. of Fahmeh,	1855	Mansell.	
Ajjeh,	1453		
Naby Shekh Mujahid, near Tershiha,	2073	Mansell.	
Yanuh,	2041	Mansell.	
Kul'at Jedin,	1410	Mansell.	
El-Bukeiya,	1215	V. d. Velde.	
Summit s. of el-Bukeiya, west of the pass to Rameh,	2657	Mansell.	
Pass to Rameh,	3000	nearly.	
Akka, castle,	92	Symonds ; Mansell.	100,
Karn el Hanaweh,	1062	Symonds ; Mansell.	1110,
Summit s. of the same,	1012	Mansell.	
Mejdel-Kerum,	1294	Mansell.	
Kubarah,	2064	Mansell.	
Tell Hazur,	1995	Mansell.	
Tell Hazwa, south of the last,	1857	Mansell.	
Summit S.E. of Tell Hazwa,	1604	Mansell.	
Kurn Hattin,	1118	Roth; 1191, Mansell; 1096, Allen.	
Plain of Esdraelon, at the base of the Mount of Precipitation,	382	Allen.	
Plain of Esdraelon, at a well near el-Fuleh,	108	Allen.	
Plain of Esdraelon, lowest part of road between Zerin and Nazareth,	489	V. Schubert.	
Plain of Esdraelon, at S.E. base of Tell Metsellim,	88	Mansell.	
Zerin,	420	Mansell.	
Jebel Duhy,	1839	Symonds ; Mansell.	1814,
Ard el Hamma, high plain above Lake Tiberias,	1018	Russegger.	
Yakuk,	493	Roth.	
Ridge above Nimrin,	1871	Mansell.	

Summit above el-Buweineh,	1859	Mansell.
Uzair,	1384	Mansell.
Rummaneh,	1235	Mansell.
Sefuriyeh,	1003	Mansell.
Jebel Kaukab,	1736	Symonds ; 1851, Mansell.
Wely, N. of Kaukab,	1523	Mansell.
Summit S.W. of Kaukab,	1126	Mansell.
A summit above Tumrah,	1249	Mansell.
Abilin,	526	Mansell.
Shefa 'Amar,	533	Mansell.
Tell Kurdany,	150	Mansell.
Jebel Jefat, near Jebel Kaukab,	1600	By estimation.
Turan, on road from Nazareth Safed,	872	Lynch.
Naby Isma'il, above Nazareth,	1790	Mansell.
Nazareth,	1265	Roth ; the mean from eight observations taken in 1858, between 1125 Par. and 1213 Par.; Russegger, 1237.
Nazareth, Latin Convent,	1182	Allen; 874, von Schubert; too low.
Deburieh,	567	Von Schubert.
Mount Tabor,	1868	Roth ; 1865, our map; von Wildenbruch, 1793; Allen, 1995; Mansell, 2017.
Mount Tabor, N.E. base,	653	Allen.
Mount Tabor, N.W. base,	259	Allen.
Khan et Tujar,	660	Roth.
Mount of the Precipitation,	1441	Mansell.
Base of the same,	717	Mansell.
Naby Bayazid,	2579	Mansell.
Naby Kubeibat,	2360	Mansell.
Highest part of road on ridge S.W. of Fendekumiyeh,	1819	Allen.

Beit Lid,	1714	Mansell.
Kur,	1301	Mansell.
Kuriyet Hajja,	1572	Mansell.
Pass over Lebanon from el-Baruk,	4824	Allen.
El-Basuriyeh,	624	Mansell.
Hanaweh,	634	Mansell.
Tibnin,	2340	Mansell.
Summit S.W. of Tibnin,	2305	Mansell.
Summit between Yathir and Kauzoh,	2452	Mansell.
Belat, temple ruins,	2552	
Kulat Shemma,	1408	Mansell.
Tell Irmith,	1251	Mansell.
Tower on Ras Nakura,	261	Mansell.
Ras Nakura, top of pass,	112	Symonds.
Alma, top of pass,	975	V. d. Velde; 1070, Mansell.
Kades above the Huleh,	1354	De Bertou.
F'arah,	3185	Mansell.
Safed, castle,	2775	Symonds; 2791, Roth; 2851, Mansell.
Safed, western part of town,	2531	Roth.
Summit E. of Safed,	2917	Mansell.
Jebel Safed, summit N. of Safed,	3252	Mansell.
Summit S. of es-Semmuy,	2525	Mansell.
Khan Jubb Yusuf,	883	Y. Schubert.
Jebel Jumuk (or Jermak),	4000	Mansell.
Jebel Zabud,	3654	Mansell.
Summit N.E. of Rameh,	3481	Mansell.
Jebel S'as'a, northern summit,	3362	Mansell.
Jebel S'as'a, southern summit,	3279	Mansell.
F'asuta,	1928	Mansell.
Castle of Tripolis,	197	Mansell.
Zahleh,	3090	Russegger; 3071, De Forest; 3664, Allen.
Bur Eliyas,	2885	Carte du Liban.
Azirteh, on the Zahleh Sunnin road,	5050	Carte du Liban.

Mar Takhala el Meruj, church near the coal mines of el-Juar,	4073	Russegger.
Maklain el Bed, coal mines,	3062	Russegger.
Mar Hannah el Keneiseh,	1918	Russegger.
El-Juar,	2195	Russegger.
Kurnayil, emir's castle,	4096	Russegger.
Bzebdin, coal mines,	3097	Russegger.
Natural bridge near the sources of Nahr el Kelb,	4925	Von Wildenbruch.
Sulima, emir's castle,	3075	Russegger.
Shumlan, on Beirut D. el Kamr road,	1310	De Bertou.
Abeih,	2300	De Forest; 2977, Mansell.
Mtara Abeih, N.E. of Abeih,	3255	Mansell.
Mejdel-Aya, N. of Abeih,	2264	Scott.
B'awirteh,	1730	Mansell.
Summit S. of B'asir,	1515	Mansell.
Jisr el Kady, on Nahr Damur,	665	Scott.
Beit ed Din, emir's birthplace,	2946	Scott; 2419, De Bertou.
Deir el Kamr,	2953	Carte du Liban.
El-Baruk, village near the source of the Nahr el Auwly,	3984	Allen.
Jett, near Kakun,	617	Allen.
Tell Manasif, E. of Kefr Saba,	988	Allen.
Nabulus, Greek Convent,	1672	Von Wildenbruch; 1866, von Schubert; 1850, Allen; 1464, Poole.
Alam Uda, wely on Jebel Sleiman,	2396	Symonds.
Valley of el-Mokhna, near Hawara,	1595	Allen.
Summit above Lubban,	2850	Mansell.
Nabulus, Jerusalem road, top of first ridge S. of Nabulus,	2037	Allen.
Bed of wadi on Nabulus-Jerusalem road, below Lubban,	1631	Allen.
Summit of ridge S. of Lubban	2463	Allen.
Top of ridge beyond Sinjil,	3108	Allen; Poole, 2020, too low.

Sinjil,	2685	Von Schubert; 3128, Mansell.
Ain Haramiyeh,	1803	Poole; too low.
Deir Abu Meshal,	1457	Symonds; 1592, Mansell.
Deir Ghusaneh,	1433	Symonds.
Beit Rima,	1390	Van de Velde.
Mejdel,	627	Mansell.
Deir Balut,	887	Mansell.
El-Mezra'ah (Nabulus-Jerusalem road),	3382	Mansell.
Tell Azur, S. of el-Mezra'ah	3566	Mansell.
Taiyibeh,	2566	Symonds; 3116, Mansell.
Ain Yebrud	2355	Von Wildenbruch; 1766, Poole.
Arnutiyeh,	2200	Poole.
El-Aujeh, ruins E. of Taiyibeh,	2181	Symonds; 2593, Mansell.
Bethel,	2401	Poole.
El-Bireh,	2254	Poole; 3042, Allen, too high.
Summit N.E. of Auza,	1968	Mansell.
Merj el Ghurruk, Plain of Sannur,	1330	Allen.
Jebel Haskin,	2485	Mansell.
Summit S. of Yasir,	2360	Mansell.
Summit W. of Kul'at Melha,	2558	Mansell.
Naby Belan,	2724	Mansell.
Mount Ebal,	3375	Mansell.
Mount Gerizim, Shekh Gannim,	3179	Mansell; 2650, von Schubert; 2408, Poole.
Summit N. of Beit Dejan,	2860	Mansell.
Jebel Jedua,	3120	Mansell.
Naby Sleimân el Farsi,	2893	Mansell.
Shekh Ibrahim,	2351	Mansell.
Sebustiyeh,	1674	Mansell; 1549, Allen; 1120, Poole; 986, von Schubert.

Jebel Kuruntul, S. of Ain Duk, .	1068	Mansell.
Naby Samwil, . . .	2649	Symonds; 3193, Mansell.
Beit Unia, ...	2881	Mansell.
Summit N.E. of Janiyeh, . .	2739	Mansell.
Summit above Katanah, on Jerusalem-Yafa road, . . .	3309	Mansell.
A summit farther west, . .	2562	Mansell.
Jerusalem-Yafa road near Kulonieh, ...	1954	Lynch; 1527, Poole.
Jerusalem-Yafa road at Ain Dilbeh,	2024	Lynch; 2047, Poole.
Jerusalem-Yafa road below Saris,	1989	Lynch.
Jerusalem, Bab Wady Aly, .	965	Lynch; 867, Poole.
El-Atrun, road in the valley, .	982	Lynch; 857, Poole.
El-Kubab, road below, . .	543	Lynch; 445, Poole.
Ramleh, martyrs' tower, . .	326	Symonds; 408, Mansell.
Ramleh, the convent, . .	230	Lynch; 244, Poole; 273, Wildenbruch.
Surafend, ...	178	Lynch.
El-Fejjeh, village E.N.E. of Jaffa, .	220	Symonds.
Yafa, castle, ...	119	Symonds.
Summit of low ridge between el-Fejjeh and Bene Ibrak, . .	323	Mansell.
Jebel um Deirej, summit N.W. of Surah, ...	1382	Mansell.
Deir el Hawa, . . .	2246	Mansell.
Beit Atab, ...	2437	Mansell.
Dahr es Saleh, summit W. of Solomon's pools, . . .	3430	Mansell.
Mar Eliyas, ...	2876	Mansell; 2207, Poole.
Jerusalem, terrace at Prussian hospice, ...	2526	Roth.
Jerusalem, highest N.W. part of the city, ...	2610	Lynch.
Jerusalem, the Latin Convent, .	2642	Russegger; 2636, von Schubert.
Jerusalem, threshold of Yafa gate,	2504	Von Wildenbruch.

Mount Zion, cœnaculum, . .	2537	Von Schubert.
Mount Zion, Protestant graveyard, ...	2696	Roth.
Hezekiah's pool, . . .	2061	Poole.
Mount Moriah, . . .	2429	Von Schubert.
Pool of Siloam, . . .	2114	Von Schubert.
Ain Rogel, ...	2095	Roth; 1996, Lynch.
Gethsemane, ...	2412	Roth.
Bridge below Gethsemane, .	2281	Von Schubert; 2284, Allen.
Mount of Olives, highest top, .	2766	Roth; 2724, von Schubert; 2674, von Wildenbruch; 2908, Mansell.
Mount of Olives, wely E. of church, ...	2415	Symonds, too low; 2138, Poole, much too low.
Mount of Evil Counsel, . .	2702	Roth.
Russian Convent at Mount Gihon,	2925	Mansell, too high.
Bethany, ...	1803	Poole.
Bir el Hodh (Jerusalem-Jericho road), ...	1421	Von Wildenbruch; 1284, Poole.
Khan el Ahmar (on do.), . .	855	Von Wildenbruch.
High mountain S. of es-Sumrat, .	738	Symonds; 1137, Mansell.
Top of last descent on this road, .	333	Von Wildenbruch.
Naby Musa, ...	330	Poole.
Birket el Hataba (Jerusalem—Mar Saba), . . .	921	Lynch.
Mar Saba, altar of the church, .	588	Lynch; 725, von Schubert; 740, Russegger.
Valley of the Kedron below Mar Saba, ...	37	Russegger.
Jebel Fureidis, . . .	2664	Mansell.
A summit about four miles E.N.E. of Jebel Fureidis, . .	1650	Mansell.

Bethlehem, convent, . .	2704	Russegger; 2567, von Schubert.
El-Burak, castle at Solomon's Pools, ...	2645	Roth; 2251, Poole (the great fountain above the upper tank).
Wady Urtas, the farm, . .	1896	Poole.
Rameh, ruins N. of Hebron, .	2800	Poole.
Kurmul, ruins S. of Hebron, .	2234	Poole.
'Ain Tawaneh, S.E. of Hebron, .	2074	Poole.
Arab camp in Wady er Rmail, .	1654	Poole.
Hebron, ...	3029	Russegger; 2840, von Schubert.
Hebron, before the quarantine-house, ...	2918	Roth.
El-Kereitein, ...	2313	Roth.
Dura, Naby Nuh, . . .	2911	Mansell.
Shekh 'Aly (Dawaimeh), . .	1417	Mansell.
Tell Jedeideh, N. of Beit Jibrin,	1382	Mansell.
Naby Ahmed (Arak el Mensiyeh),	581	Mansell.
Naby Yunas, N. of Esdud, .	188	Mansell.
Ruins of Askelon, highest part, .	230	Mansell.
Shekh Arduan, N. of Gaza, .	214	Mansell.
El-Montar, S. of Gaza, . .	314	Mansell.
Tell Daheb, ...	362	Mansell.
Tell el Ajur, ...	102	Mansell.
Edh-Dhoheriyeh, . . .	2174	Russegger.
Semua (valley below), . .	2372	Von Schubert.
Bir es Seba, ...	1100	Russegger.
Jebel Rukhy, ...	1052	Russegger.
El-Khulasah, ...	704	Russegger.
Kurnub, ...	1625	Von Schubert.
Top of Nubk es Sufa, . .	1528	Von Schubert.

El-Buka'a (Cœle-Syria) and Antilebanon Range.

Kamoa el Hurmul, . . .	2407	De Forest.
El-Hurmul, the village, . .	2171	De Forest.
Bridge over the Orontes near el-Hurmul, ...	1789	De Forest.

Orontes, source at Deir Mar Maron, ...	2118	De Forest.
Watershed between Orontes and Leontes, ...	3127	De Forest.
Ba'albek, ...	3726	Russegger; 3807, von Schubert; 3800, Mansell; 3551, von Wildenbruch; 4166, Allen; 3838, Carte du Liban.
Jisr Temnin, bridge near el-Merj, ...	3069	Von Wildenbruch; 3141, Allen.
Jebel esh Shurky, highest top, .	5000	By estimation.
Antilebanon, highest summit near Ain Hawar, . . .	6807	Carte du Liban.
Serin, N. of Wadi Yafufeh, .	3620	Von Schubert.
Masy, ...	3761	Von Schubert.
Surghaya, ...	4494	Carte du Liban.
Zebedany, ...	4289	Russegger; 3760, von Schubert; 4135, Allen.
Bludan, ...	4842	Porter; elsewhere, 4524.
Pass on Damascus, Beirut road above Zebedany, . . .	5175	Russegger and v. Schubert; 4714, von Wildenbruch.
Plain of Zebedany, . . .	3566	Russegger.
Plain of Zebedany, at the fountain of Barada river, . . .	3608	Porter.
Mill on Barada, five miles below last, ...	3842	Von Wildenbruch.
Fall of the Barada, near the pass of Zuk Wadi Barada, . .	3566	Russegger.
Inscriptions of Abila, . .	3322	Von Wildenbruch.
Jebel Kasyun, above Damascus,	3814	Porter.
Kefr Suseh, ...	2394	Carte du Liban.

Damascus, ...	2400	Russegger; 2269, Wildenbruch; 2186, Schubert; 2286, Carte du Liban; 2200, Porter; 2437, Allen.
Dimes, on Damascus-Beirut road,	3825	Allen; 3514, Carte du Liban.
Yuntah, ...	4860	Porter.
Es-Suweireh, ...	4433	Carte du Liban.
Basin of Kefr Kuk, N.E. slope of Mount Hermon, . . .	3500	Porter.
Hasbeiya, emir's palace, . .	2160	De Forest.
Hasbeiya, ...	2510	Roth; 1920, Russegger.
Road over Khalwet el Biyad, .	2711	Russegger.
Ain Jurfa, near Hasbeiya, .	2374	Russegger.
Hibariyeh, near Hasbeiya, . .	2261	Russegger.
Rasheiya el Fokkar, . .	2475	Russegger.
Bridge, on Nahr Serayib, . .	1237	Russegger.
Banias, N.E. angle of terrace, .	1147	Russegger.
Banias, bridge over the Jordan branch, ...	1272	Roth.
Banias, ...	2200	Roth.

Country south of Damascus.

Khan es Shih, . . .	2616	Von Schubert.
S'as'a, on Damascus-Banias road,	2973	Von Schubert.
Kuneiterah, ...	3037	Von Schubert.
Jubata, ...	3485	Roth.
Lake Phiala, ...	3304	Roth; 3175, Doergens.
Plateau of Tell Khanzir, . .	3000	Von Schubert.
Tell el Harah, . . .	2965	Doergens.
Tell Abu Nida, . . .	4114	Doergens.
Mzarib, ...	1652	Doergens.
Gadara (Um-Keis), . .	1204	Roth.
Hot baths near Gadara, . .	550	Roth.
Jebel Hauran, Tell Abu Tumeis,	5000	Doergens.

Jebel Hauran, el Kleib, . .	5725	Doergens.
Jebel Hauran, Tell Jeineh, .	6050	Doergens.
Tibneh, ...	2110	Doergens.
K. er Rubad (wadi below), .	1760	Doergens.
Burmeh, ...	1918	Doergens.
Wady Zerka, below Burmeh, .	106	Doergens.
Pass over Jebel Jilad, . .	3676	Doergens.
Es-Salt, ...	2771	Doergens.
Highest part of road from Es-Salt to Amman, . . .	3463	Doergens.
Kerak, first floor of a house in the village, ...	3323	Roth.

The Depression Valley. The Jordan and Dead Sea.

Jordan, fountain near Hasbeiya, .	1700	De Forest.
Jordan, ford below Hasbeiya, .	1654	De Forest.
Jordan, khan below this ford, . .	1609	De Forest.
Jordan, fountain at Banias, .	1140	De Forest (compare Banias); 863, De Bertou.
Tell el Kady, ...	647	De Forest; 537, von Wildenbruch; 344, De Bertou.
Bridge on the upper Jordan, .	346	Roth, without stating which bridge.
Sukeik, ...	2670	Thomson (*Land and Book*, p. 362).
Ruins of Gamala, . . .	1170	Thomson (*Land and Book*, p. 384).
Ain Belata, ...	270	By estimation (see *Memoir*, p. 181).
Bahr el Huleh, . . .	180	By estimation; 273, Mansell; 282, Roth; De Bertou, 20.
Jisr Benat Yakub, . . .	90	Von Wildenbruch. The bridge is 30′ above the river.

Lake Tiberias, level, . .	653	Lynch; 755, De Bertou; 665, Russegger; 570, von Schubert; 845, von Wildenbruch; 810, Allen; 328, Symonds.
Lake Tiberias, greatest depth, .	165	Lynch; 156, Molyneux.
Tiberias, in front of the castle, .	557	Roth.
The Jordan, bridge near Semakh,	580	Roth.
The Jordan, at el-Buka'a, . .	687	Lynch.
The Jordan, at Jisr Mejami'a, .	704	Lynch; 779, Roth.
The Jordan, at 32° 26′ 54″ lat., .	843	Lynch.
The Jordan, at 32° 9′ 18″ lat., .	1049	Lynch.
The Jordan, at 32° 6′ 39″ (Jisr Damieh), ...	1097	Lynch.
Kurn Surtabeh, . . .	1028	Symonds.
Jericho (er Riha), . . .	900	Symonds; 798, Poole; 764, Russegger; 562, von Schubert; 1034, De Bertou.
Ain es Sultan, . . .	682	Von Wildenbruch.
Jordan, pilgrims' bathing-place, .	1209	Poole; 1376, Russegger.
Jordan, ford on road to es-Salt, .	1118	Doergens.
Kasr Hajla, ...	1069	Symonds.
Dead Sea level, . . .	1317	Lynch; 1312, Symonds; 1377, De Bertou; 1430, Russegger; 1441, Wildenbruch; 638, von Schubert; 1367, Bridges; 1316, Poole.
Dead Sea, greatest depth near Ain Terabeh, . . .	1308	Lynch; Moore and Beke, 1800.

Dead Sea, depth off Ain Jiddy, .	1128	Lynch.
Dead Sea, depth north end of peninsula, ...	642	Lynch.
Cliff of Terabeh, above the level of the Dead Sea, . . .	1306	Lynch.
Cliff of Terabeh, under the level of the Mediterranean, . .	11	Lynch.
Ras Mersed, under the level of the Mediterranean, . .	1113	Above Dead Sea, 200, Poole.
Bir Ain Jiddy, under the level of the Mediterranean, . .	603	Poole.
Masada Cliff, bottom of path on eastern side, . . .	750	Poole; above Dead Sea, 563.
Ruins of fortress in W. Embaghegh, ...	931	Poole; above Dead Sea, 382.
Ez-Zuweirah et tahta ruin, .	345	Poole; above Dead Sea, 968.
Wadi some yards below, . .	1027	Roth.
Jebel Usdum, . . .	1316	Roth; 900, Poole.
Bedawin camp in Ghor es Safieh,	1172	Roth.

APPENDIX III.

As I have endeavoured to give as perfect an account as possible of the existing Palestine literature, supplementing Ritter's list in this volume with one which comes down to the present year, I have thought that it might not be inappropriate to insert Tobler's *resumé*, and his piquant, and frequently, it must be supposed, judicious and correct remarks, contained in his *Dritte Wanderung nach Palästina*. Tobler is the first living authority, so far as the literature of Palestine is concerned; and no man has gone through more painstaking efforts than he, to extend the area of our knowledge respecting the Holy Land. It is all the more to be regretted that his brusqueness and occasional haste make his critical remarks less valuable than they would otherwise have been.—ED.

1. *Works known or conjectured with the utmost probability to proceed from personal explorers.*

728. Willibald: Heinrich Hahn shows, in his thorough treatise on the journey of St Willibald to Palestine, that he was there between the years 727 and 729.

1170. Descriptio itineris in Terram Sanctam (by an anonymous writer), in Joh. Georg. Eccardi Corpus histor. medii ævi. Lips. 1723. Full of breaks, and mere verbiage.

1175. Fetell (strictly Fretell). Laurent identifies Fretellus with the pseudo-name Eugesippus, which does not strictly satisfy me.

1187. Plagon, incorrectly translated into English.

1212. Willebrands von Oldenburg Reise nach Palästina, pub. in Latin by Dr Laurent, and in German with illustrative comments. Valuable as this edition is, it contains little that was not in that of Leo Allatius.

1217. Thietmari Peregrinatio. Ad fidem codicis Hamburgensis cum aliis libris manuscriptis collati edidit, annota-

tione illustravit, codicem recensum, scripturæ discrepantiam, indicem rerum et verborum adjecit J. C. M. Laurent. Hamburgi, 1857. 4to. By far the best edition, and more complete than that of Jul. de St Genois or mine.

1294. Riccoldo or Riculdus: a manuscript. Itinerarius fratris Richoldi ordinis fratrum Prædicatorum, in the Wolfenbüttel Lib.

1314–1322. Parchi. In the second volume of the Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, there is an article on the Geography of Palestine, from Jewish sources, by Dr Zunz. In the same work there is an extract from Khafthor va-ferach of Esthori B. Mose ha-Parchi, a contemporary of Abulfeda and Maundeville. Asher, the editor, regards this as the first and most important author on the topography of Palestine. The book has some value, but it is overrated by Robinson.

1336. Baldensel. The Itinerarius Gulielmi de Baldensele, taken from a Wolfenbüttel MS. by C. L. Grotefend, and inserted in the Zeitsch. des histor. Vereins fur Niedersachsen. Probably the last edition. An edition (probably Latin) appeared in Venice in 1480.

1340. Maundeville: Latin, Italian, German, and English editions of his travels. I have also found a French translation bearing these words: "Ce liure est apele Mandeville, 1480;" and then without mention of time, place, or publisher, "Manteuille compose par messire Jehan de monteville cheualier natif d' angleterre de la ville de saint alain. lequel parle de la terre de promission, de hierusalem, et de plusiurs pays, villes et isles de mer, et de diuerses et estranges choses, et du voyage de hierusalem." The copy before me is incomplete, and is ornamented with four coarse woodcuts. Count de l'Escalapier of Paris possesses a paper MS. in folio: Cy commence le liure des parties doultre mer lequel fut fait et ordonne par messire Ihân de mandeville.

1384. Sigoli: The older edition of this traveller, edited by Niccolo Frescobaldi, appeared in Florence in 1829.

1395. Sarebruche: Journal contenant le voyage faict en Hierusalem et autres lieux de deuotion, tant en la terre Saincte qu'en Ægypte. Par . . . Seigneur Messire Simon de Sarebruche Cheualier, Baron d'Anglure, au Diocese de Troyes, en l'année 1395. A tolerably good work.

1410. Schildtberger or Scheltberger: A new edition taken from the Heidelberg MS. by K. F. Neumann, and more enjoyable than the one edited by Penzell, prefaced with an introduction by himself, and enlarged by comments from the pens of Fallmerayer and Hammer-Purgstall.

1419. Caumont: Voyaige d'oultremer en Jhérusalem par le Seigneur de Caumont l'an 1418. Public . . . par le Marquis de la Grange. Paris 1858. This meagre account is interesting notwithstanding.

1422. Lannoy: Voyages et ambassades de messire Giullebert de Lannoy, 1399 to 1450.

1433. Philipp the last Count of Katzellenbogen: Pilgerfahrt nach Ægypten und Palästina in 1433 and 1434. Printed in the Vorzeit of 1821.

1449. Gumpenberg: Evidently taken from an older work.

1470. Itinerary by William Wey: MS. in the Bodleian Lib.

1476. Albrecht von Sachsen: Found also in the collective work, Itinera sex a diversis Saxoniæ ducibus et electoribus . . . in Italiam omnia, tria etiam in Palæstinam et terram sanctam facta. Studio Balthasaris Mencii. Witebergæ 1612. The pilgrimage of Albrecht was preceded, by a short interval, by that of Frederick III. 1474, and followed by that of Henry I. 1499, and again in 1500. The two last mentioned accounts are not important, but they should not be wholly overlooked.

1479. Tucher, in Fol Strassburg, Knoblochtzer, 1483. It appeared in connection with Gumpenberg in 1561.

1480. Voyage de la sainte Cité.

1480. Santa Brasca: Viaggio a Gierusalemme. Milan 1481.

1480 and 1483. Fabri: The first German edition appeared, so far as I can ascertain, in 1557, under the title, Elgentlich beschreibung der hin und wider farth zu dem heyligen Landt gen Jerusalem, vnd furter durch die grosse Wüsten zu dem Heiligen Berge Horeb und Sinai. Eine Mission oder Epistel an vier Edle, die beim hiel. Grabe Ritter worden sind, geht dem Pilgerbuch, welches denselben ihr Kaplan, Bruder Felix, hat gemacht, voran. Nur auf Bitten hin hat er das nachgehende Büchlein gemacht aus meinem lateinischen buch, das ich fur mich selbst habe gemacht. Correctly printed in the Reyssbuch des heil. Landes.

1482. Josse van Ghistele. His report appeared in the Flemish language, edited by De St Genois, and also in French, in Lyons, 1564.

1483. Breydenbach: The first German edition known to me is, Die heyligen Reyssen gen Jherusalem zu dem heyl. grab. Meyntz: E. Rewich, 1486. With wood engravings. Lat. Mogunt. 1486. Fol. The prorector of the George Augustus University, Jacob Wilhelm Feuerleins Einladung zu einer Feyer der Königl. Deutschen Gesellschaft auf den 13 Hornung 1750. With this a treatise by Bernhard von Breydenbach, Reise in das Gelobte Land, appeared in Göttingen. Feuerlein says that he used four editions, one of which was beautifully illustrated, written in High German, and still preserved by the Breydenbach family. He speaks of a Latin edition of 1484, a High German one of the same year, a Low German one issued soon after, and a French one in 1489.

1487. Le Huen. The edition of 1522 in Regnault. De Hody cites this passage: Des saintes pérégrinations de Jherusalem, et des environs et des lieux prochains, tiré du latin de Bernard de Breydenbach, par frère Nicolas de Huen.

1506. Guylforde: Pilgrimage towardes Jherusalem. London 1511.

1508. Noe: Viaggio al S. Sepolcro. I have also seen an edition published in Venice in 1587. On the title-page of the one seen by me stands the sentence: comporto dal R. P. fra Noe dell' ordine de S. Francisco.

1510. Wanckel: Ein Kurtze vermerckung der heyligen Stet des heyligen landts in und umb Jerusalem. Jobst Gutknecht. Wanckel spent six years in Palestine. The work is closely condensed, and should not be wholly overlooked.

1517. Hirschfeld: Des Ritters Bernhard von Hirschfeld im Jahr 1517 unternommene und von ihn selbst beschriebene Wallfahrt zum heiligen Grabe. Aus einem in der grossherzogl. Bibliothek zu Weimar befindlichen Manuscripte. Herausgegeben von A. von Minckwitz. Contained in Mitthilungen der deutschen Gesell. zu Erforschung vaterländ. Sprache und Alterthümer in Leipzig. T. O. Weigel, 1856. A very unimportant document: only a little of it deserved to be printed.

1518. Lesaige: Chy sensuient les gistes repaistres et despens Que Moy Jacques Lesaige marchant demourant a

Douay; Ay faict de Douay . . . en la Saincte cité de Hierusalem. . . . Imprime Nouuellement a Cambray, B. Brassart, Au depens du dict iacques. This book is written in so fresh a style, that it deserves being glanced at.

1519. Tschudi. Edition with different title. Freiburg 1610.

1519. Stulz: Beschreibung der Pilgerfahrt gehn Hierusalem, 1519. To be seen in the Lucerne City Library. Not important.

1527. Pascha, French: La Peregrination Spirituelle; vers la terre saincte, comme en Jerusalem, Bethlehem, au Jordan. Composée en langue Thyoise, par feu F. Jean Pascha, D. en theologie. This is rather a book of edification than of travel.

1535. Gassot. Jacob Gassot wrote a description of the journey from Venice to Constantinople, but it did not touch on Jerusalem. This is a new token of the haste with which Chateaubriand makes his assertions.

1545. Copie du Saint Voyage de Jerusalem En partie fait et renouvellé le vrze Du mois D'aoust Lan de grace 1714. Rather a registration of the holy places than a record of travel: unimportant.

1549. Regnaut: Discours du Voyage d'outre mer au sainct Sepulcre de Jerusalem, et autres lieux de la terre Saincte. Par Anthoine Regnaut. Lyon 1573. With many woodcuts worth noticing. The prayers of the Latins are fully given in this work.

1550. Tenerreyo: Itinerario de Antonio Tenerreyo. Lisboa 1829.

1552–1559. Bonifacius von Ragusa, Planographie. The style of this writer is condensed and clear. He has entered a little upon topographical matters, and seems to have been implicitly followed in these by Quaresmio and Morone da Maleo. In his first volume there is nothing geographical: it contains only prayers, orders of divine service, and of processions. What is strictly topographical is only woven in, to make the places hallowed by tradition more evident. The book confines itself to Jerusalem and its vicinity. This author is not to be overlooked because so many have trodden in his footsteps.

1555. Giraudet: Discovrs dv voiage d'ovtre mer av Sainct

Sepulchre de Jerusalem, et autres lieux de la terre Saincte: Et du mont de Sinai. . . . Par Gabriel Giraudet Prebstre. Tolose 1583. Unimportant.

1556. Muntzer, Reyssbeschreibung. . . . Wolffgang Mützers von Babenberg. Von Venedig aus nach Jerusalem. Nürnberg 1624. Unimportant.

1556–1559. Seydlitz, trans. into Dutch by Angelen, 1662.

1563. Hanns von Godern: Beschreibung einer Rais geen Jerusalem: MS.

1564. Helffrich. A later edition. . . . Jetzunder auffs new ubersehen, und mit etzlichen Figuren gemehret. Leipz. 1589. The woodcuts moderately good, although some are poor.

1583. Lauffen: Pilgerfahrt nach Jerusalem. Manuscript in the Library of Lucerne. This document would not pay for printing.

1593. De Hault: Le voyage de Hierusalem . . . contenant l'ordre, despence, et remarques notables en iceluy. Unimportant.

1596. Kootwyck: Travels translated into Flemish in 1620.

1600. Verscheyde Voyagien, ofte Reyssen gedaen door Jr. Joris van der Does na Constantinopolen. Dordricht 1612.

1600. Christoph Harant: Putowany aneb Cesta. Translated into German under the title, Wallfahrt aus Böhmen in das Judenland, 1608.

1600. Jean Palerne: Peregrination en Egypte, Arabie, Terre Sainte, Syrie, etc. Lyon 1606.

1601. Timberlake: Discourse of the Travailes of two English Pilgrimes . . . written by Henry Timberlake. London 1616.

1600–1611. The Travels of four Englishmen and a Preacher into Galilee, Judea, Palestine, Jericho, etc. London 1612.

1604. Beauveau: Relation Journaliere dv voyage dv Levant faict et descrit par . . . Henry de Beauveau. Reveu augmente et enrichy par l'Autheur de pourtraicts des lieus les plus remarquables. Nancy 1619. Unimportant.

1604. De Breves: Relation des Voyages de M. de Breves faits en Hiervsalem, Terre Saincte, Constantinople, etc. Paris 1630. Worth examining, if only in respect to the names of localities.

1610. Boucher. His work appeared in Troyes, 1610.

1612. Pesenti: Peregrinaggio di Giervsalemme. Brescia 1628.

1619. De Vos: Journal ofte Beschryvinge van de Jerusalemsz Reyse, gedaen; by Adrian de Vos. Delft 1655.

1621. Des Hayes: Voiage de Levant Fait par le commendement dv Roy en l'année 1621. Par le Sr. D. C. Paris 1624. The abbreviation I think to be Du Castel, although others have considered it to be De Cormenin. This work is worth examining; and so, too, are the authorities which it gives in connection with the text.

1622. Ribes: Relacion del viage de la Santa Civdad de Hierusalem, y otros lugares adjacentes en la misma Tierra Santa. Par Fray Raymundo Ribes. Barcelona 1627. Containing some observations of value.

1627. Castillo: El devoto Peregrino, y Viage de Tierra Santa. Compvesto par el Padre Fray Antonio del Castillo. Madrid 1655. This writer was governor of the Holy Land, and gives many interesting particulars regarding the country.

1631. Stockove: Voyage du Levant. Bruxelles 1650.

1633. Heerlycke ende gelukkige reyze naer het heyligh landt ende stadt van Jerusalem beschreven ende bereyst door broeder Jan Vanderlinden. Antwerpen 1634.

1636. Neitschitz. This traveller visited the Holy Land in 1630. His book has little value.

1640. Berdino: Historia dell' Antica e Moderna Palestina, descritta in tre parti, dal V. R. P. F. Vincenzo Berdino. Venice 1642. This writer was for several years general-commissary in Palestine.

1650. La Syrie sainte: ou la Mission de Jesus et des Pères de la Compagnie de Jesus en Syrie. Par Joseph Besson. Paris 1660.

1650. Relation nouvelle et exacte d'un voyage de la Terre Sainte. Paris 1688. Unimportant: a work wholly religious, yet not bitter towards those who have a different faith from the author.

1651–1658. Mariano Morone da Maleo. This author (the title of whose work is very long) appears to have been a careful observer, and to have collected much that could be profitably used.

1658. Thevenot: Gedenkwaardige en zeer nawkeurige reizen van Thevenot. Amsterdam 1681.

1660. Cheron: Conferences spiritvelles, ov L'Eloge, et la Relation du Voyage de Jerusalem fait en l'an 1660. Paris 1671. Pious; and not very instructive withal.

1660. Poullet: Voyages du Sr. Poullet, Nouvelles Relations du Levant. Very little about Jerusalem in this work; but what little there is, looks well.

1660. Slisanzky: Reyssbeschreibung nachher Jerusalem und dem heil. Lande.

1663-1670. Le voyage de Galilée. Paris 1670. This book deserves examination.

1665. Ranzow, Joh. v.: Reisebeschreibung nach Jerusalem, Cairo, und Constantinopel. Copenhag. 1669.

1666. Deschamps, Barthélemi: Voyage de Liége à Jerusalem et en Egypte. Liege 1678.

1665-1668. Gonzales: Jerusalemsche Reyse gedaen ende beschreven door F. Antonius Gonzales. Antwerpen 1673.

1670. Jouvin: Le voyageur d'Europe où est le voyage de Turquie, qui comprend la Terre Sainte et l'Egypte.

1671. Goujon: Histoire du voyage de la Terre Sainte. Par Jacques Goujon. Lyon 1671.

1699. Felix Beaugrand: Voyage. Paris 1700.

1700. Antonio da Venetia: guida fedele alla santa città di Gierusalemme, e descrizione di tutta Terra Santa. Venetia 1703.

1700-1709. Egmond en Heyman: Ter Drukpersse bezorgt door Joh. Wil. Heyman. His work is worth examination.

1702. Reymann: Grundtliche Relation, Oder Wahrer Bericht und eygentliche Verzeichnuss, etc. By N. Reymann. This book is worth reading, and contains some valuable historical notices.

1707, 1710, 1713. Solik: Fasciculus Myrrhæ in campis Palæstinæ collectus. Brunæ 1716. Close style, not critical, and hardly usable.

1712. Hietling: Peregrinus affectuose per Terram Sanctam et Jerusalem a devotione et curiositate conductus, etc. 1712.

1715. Voiage de M. Turpetin Prêtre der diocesse Dorleans dans les Saints Lieux de Jerusalem. This work contains some notices of value.

1715. Benzelius. Dr Henrik Benzelius journeyed through Palestine, and communicated his observations to Gjörwell's Svenska Merkurius.

1725. A. M. Myller: Peregrinus in Jerusalem. Fremdling zu Jerusalem, etc. Wien and Nuremberg 1735.

1726. Chrysanthos. This writer published, in 1726, a work giving a glowing account of Jerusalem, and of the Sepulchre of Christ.

1730. Angeli: Viaggio di Terra Santa. Venezia 1738. Unimportant.

1731. Tollot: Voyage fait au Levant, contenant les descriptions d'Algier, etc. Paris 1742.

1733. K. F. v. Höpken und Eduard Carson: Stora Svenska Herrars Resa. Stockholm 1768.

1735. Cecilia: Palestina ovvero primo Viaggio di F. Leandro di Santa Cecilia Carmelitano Scalzo in Oriente scritto dal medesimo. Roma 1753. It is worth looking into.

1738. Korte, Reize naar Palestina. Amsterdam 1781.

1767. Mariti: Die Istoria came out in Paris in 1853 under the title of Histoire de l'état présent de Jérusalem. The translator, excellently as he has done his work, has yet suppressed the fact that the original dates from 1767, and conveyed the impression that the book is a new one.

1772. Jerusalemsche reize gedaen ende beschreven door Marinus Geubels. Tot Dendermonde 1780.

1772. L. F. Cassas: Voyage pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phénice, de la Palestine, etc. 2 vols. fol. An expensive book even now, and a work, moreover, never completed. The text contains contributions from many celebrated savans, and the plates are very accurate and faithful.

1776. Reize naer het heylig land, gedaen in de jaeren 1776 en 1777, en beschreven door Joannes Andreas Jacobus Rothier. Antwerpen. Without date.

1783. Korobeinikof, a Russian, was sent by the Czar to Jerusalem, and published an account of his journey.

1788–1790. Bscheider: Das heilige Land, nach seinem gegenwartigen Zustande geschildert von F. G. Bscheider. Augsburgh 1798. One of the most enjoyable books which the Franciscans have written about Palestine.

1800. Wittman: Reisen in der europaischen Türkey, Kleinasien, Syrien, und Ægypten. Leipzig 1804.

1806. Chateaubriand. Bruxelles 1851. In three vols. Also Chateaubriand illustré. Paris 1853. Mostly poor engravings; that of Bethlehem not to be identified. Only a pain to look at them. There are Italian editions of this writer, published at Florence in 1828, and in Naples in 1844, and extracts in Milan in 1826. It has gone through three German editions. In his Memoires d'outre tombe, the author manifests self-satisfaction enough; indeed, he goes so far as to suppose that his descriptions are exact. He says, "Tous les voyageurs, à Jérusalem, m'ont ecrit pour me féliciter et me remercier de mon exactitude, wie Julius Folentlot (l'exactitude des descriptions)." I afterwards fell in with things not so exact in him.

1806. Seetzen. The publication of this traveller's works, so valuable in many respects, is a most praiseworthy act.

1814. Bramsen: English Travels in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, etc. London 1815.

1816. Irby and Mangles. There is a newer edition of their travels [than the one used by Ritter]. London 1844. Condensed in style, and containing many valuable facts.

1817. Joliffe: Travels. Published in French and in Dutch. Paris 1820, and Amsterdam 1822.

1817. Forbin. A work magnificently got up, and containing drawings by Gros, Thiénon, Louise Bouteiller, Hippolyte Lecomte, Bourgeois, Daguerre, Bouton, A. Deseynes, Hersen, and Baltard. Well drawn, but very inaccurate; and it is a sin and a pity that so much money has been expended on a work so faulty.

1817. Viagem de hum peregrino a Jerusalem, e visita que feez aos Lugares Santos. Fr. Joâo de Jesus Christo. Lisboa 1822.

1821. W. R. Wilson: Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land. London 1823.

1822. Wolf's Missionary Journal and Mem. of the Rev. Joseph Wolf. London 1824.

1823. Jowett: Travels. Enjoyable.

1823. Fisk: A Pastor's Memorial of the Holy Land. London 1853.

1826. Valiani, Luigi: Travels.

1827. Jahn: Travels. Mayence 1828. The work of this truth-loving, intelligent Catholic is worth reading.

1829. Prokesch; Oversat af Christian Winther. Kjobenhavn 1839.

1830. George Fisk: A Memorial of Egypt, Jerusalem, and other principal localities in the Holy Land. Lond. and Leipz. 1859.

1832. G. Robinson: Voyage, avec vues, cartes, et plans. Paris 1838. Some of the lithographs are endurable, and one can get through the text.

1833. Vere Monro: Travels. Noticeable.

1833. Arundale: Illustrations of Jerusalem and Mount Sinai; including the most interesting sites between Cairo and Beirout. From drawings by F. Arundale. London 1837. His merits in throwing light on the Haram of Jerusalem are well known.

1833. Pallme: Meine Reisen durch Syrien und Palästina. Without date. The young merchant tells his story honestly; some notices of his are useful.

1834. George Jones: Excursions to Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus, etc., from the U.S. ship "Delaware." New York 1836.

1835. Kinglake: Eothen. A very vivid delineation.

1836. J. G. Fässler: Reise nach Ægypten und dem heil. Lande. St Gallen 1840.

1836. Martin Kreutzhuber: Leben, Wanderungen, etc. 1840. Not usable.

1837. Lindsay, Lord: Letters from Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land. Merits some examination.

1838. D. Holthaus: Wanderungen, etc. Barmen 1842. This man went as a travelling tailor.

1838. Pückler-Muskau: Die Ruckkehr. Berlin 1846. Some things in this are useful.

1838, 1852. Robinson: Biblical Researches. English and German editions. Though so many have gone through Palestine since 1838, yet no one has attained to the clearness and the excellence of Robinson, and our thanks are due to him ever.

1839. Kinnear: Cairo, Petra, and Damascus. London 1841. This book should hardly be overlooked.

1839. Reise Skizzen aus dem Morgenlande. Zweibrucken 1841. Hardly worth the reading.

1839 or 1840. James Erving Cooley: The American in Egypt; with Rambles through the Holy Land. New York 1842.

1840. D. Millard: Journal of Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land. New York.

1840. E. Joy Morry: Notes of a Tour, etc. Philadelphia 1842.

1840. Dawson, Borrer: Journey to Jerusalem. London 1845.

1842, 1853. Bartlett. Text not good. Robinson makes great account of Bartlett's artistic productions, but they are far inferior to those of Ulrich Halbreiter.

1842. Wolcott, Samuel: Notices of Jerusalem, in Bib. Sacra. 1843.

1843. Herschell: Visit to my Fatherland.

1843. Wanderungen im Morgenlande, in 1842 and 1843, by Dr J. A. Lorent. Mannheim 1845. Not usable.

1843. Hahn-hahn: Travels, 1845.

1843. J. P. Durbin: Observations in Egypt, Palestine, etc. New York 1845.

1843 or 1844. Warburton: The Crescent and the Cross. Some things in this are noteworthy.

1844, 1859. Tischendorf: Travels in the East.

1845. Georgi: Die heiligen Stätten. Leipz. 1854. Finely got up; the views taken from Roberts' and Mayer's works. The text is a compilation.

1845, 1857. Tobler, T.: Beitrag zur medizinischen Topographie von Jerusalem. Berlin 1855. Die neuen Forschungen, in Ausland, 1855. Forschungen zur nähern Kunde von Jerusalem, in Petermann's Mittheilungen, 1857. Wanderungen in Palästina, 1857. Planographie von Jerusalem. Memoir accompanying Van der Velde's Map of Jerusalem and Vicinity, Gotha 1857.

1846. Les Pèlerins Russes. Par Mme. Bagréef-Speransky.

1846. Gadow: Mittheilungen über Jerusalem aus dem Tagebuche eines Augenzeugen. Konigsberg. Worth reading, yet not critical.

1846. Cassini: La Terra Santa descritta dal Padre Francesco Cassini da Perinaldo. Genova 1855. A little book, with touches of fun and humour here and there; the

author, though a Franciscan, does not follow all the traditions blindly.

1846. Ausführliche Beschreibung meiner Reise nach Rom und Jerusalem. Von Joseph Schilling. Tuttlingen 1854.

1847. Wolff: Jerusalem. With thirty-six wood engravings. This handy little book not only gives a good idea of the chief objects of interest in Jerusalem, but it also contains some new matter.

1847. Reise ins Morgenland, unternommen von J. H. Schulthess. Zurich 1854.

1848. Gasparin: Journal d'un Voyage au Levant. Par Mme. de Gasparin. Paris 1848. This book, though the work of an enemy to the traditions, is pietistic, overloaded, and not at all valuable. I must express my wonder that Roman Catholics think this lady, who has the most meagre scientific acquisitions, or her husband, Count de Gasparin, to be noticeable objects enough to attack. Such opponents as these, are, in truth, too insignificant. The friends of tradition would do better to attack the thorough Robinson, but he is little known in France.

1848. Lynch: Official Report of the United States Expedition to explore the Dead Sea and the River Jordan. Baltimore 1852. Important.

1849. H. B. W. Churton: Thoughts of the Land of the Morning; a Record of Two Visits to Palestine. London 1852.

1850. The Dead Sea, a New Route to India. By Captain Wm. Allen. London 1855. Worth looking into.

1850. Pigeory: Les Pèlerins d'Orient; Lettres artistiques et historiques sur un voyage dans la Syrie et la Palestine. Paris 1854. Not a thorough work.

1850. Patterson: Journal of a Tour in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Greece. By James Laird Patterson. London 1852. An unimportant work; the mere polemic of a modern Catholic against the Protestants.

1850. Du Camp: Egypte, Nubie, Palestine, et Syrie; Dessins photographiques. Paris 1852. Some parts of the text are interesting, but the most is weakly, and there is great confusion. I was expecting much from photography in enabling me to judge as to the architecture of Palestine, but was disappointed after examining this work.

1851. The Lands of the Messiah, Mahomet, and the Pope. By John Aiton. London 1852. Of little value.

1851. Christina Trivulci di Belgiojoso: La vie intime et la vie nomade en Orient, in the Rev. de deux Mondes. One has to ask the question how such light wares found a place in a journal of that character.

1851. Dandolo: Viaggio en Egitto, nel Sudan, in Siria ed in Palestina, di Emilio Dandolo. Milano 1854. Well written, but containing little new.

1851. Pilgerreise in das heil. Land. Von Johann Hilber. Brüneck 1853.

1851, 1856. Schiferle: Zweite Pilgerreise nach Jerusalam und Rom, 1858. Characterized by animosity towards those who have a different religious faith from the author, especially Protestants. This is the chief merit of the book. The second pilgrimage is poorer than the first.

1852. Thomas: Travels in Egypt and Palestine. By J. Thomas. Philadelphia 1858. This little book does not richly repay perusal.

1852. Ohnesorge: Der Zions Pilger; Tagebuch auf der Reise nach Jerusalem. Berlin 1855. Instead of exact information, the reader gets a kind of baptized declamation.

1852. Dupuis: The Holy Places; a Narrative of Two Years' Residence in Jerusalem and Palestine. By H. L. Dupuis. A book written with no scientific end in view, and intended mainly to advance the interests of Protestantism in the Holy Land, and yet not without many new observations.

1852. Stephen Olin: Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land. New York 1853.

1853. Ziegler: Meine Reise in den Orient. Leipzig 1855. One who is not on the watch for scientific knowledge about the country would probably be satisfied with this book.

1853. Vogué: Fragments d'un Journal de Voyage en Orient. Paris 1855. Although the author keeps rather too closely to the French literature of the subject, yet his production merits perusal.

1853. Stanley: Sinai and Palestine. This work is marked for its generalizations, and for the comparisons introduced between the subject-matter and legendary and historical matters not directly in the line of discussion.

1853. Shadows of the East, from Observations in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, etc. By Catherine Tobin. London 1855.

1853. Thrupp: Antient Jerusalem; a New Investigation into the History, Topography, and Plan of the City, Environs, and Temple. Cambridge 1855. This work manifests industrious research; yet there are some archæological hypotheses in it which are a little surprising.

1853. Travels in Europe and the East By S. J. Prince. New York 1855. Hasty work.

1853. Pictures of Palestine, Asia Minor, etc. By Bayard Taylor. London 1855.

1853. Illustrations of Scripture. By H. B. Hackett. Boston 1855.

1853. Jerusalem, seine Vorzeit, Gegenwart, und Zukunft. Von F. Liebetrut. Unimportant.

1854. Stewart: The Tent and the Khan; a Journey to Sinai and Palestine. By R. W. Stewart. Edinburgh 1857. The author brings together much that is interesting, but he does not command sufficiently well the English literature of the subject.

1854. Beaumont: A Diary of a Journey to the East. By W. Beaumont. London 1856. With useful observations.

1854. V. Guérin: De ora Palæstinæ a promontorio Carmelo usque ad urbem Joppem pertinente. Parisiis 1856. A thorough production.

1854. Salzmann, A.: Jerusalem; Etude et reproduction photographique des monuments, etc. What I have seen of this work has not satisfied me at all.

1854. Fisher Howe: Travels in Greece, Turkey, and Palestine. New York 1854.

1854. Benjamin Dorr: Notes of Travel. Philadelphia 1858.

1855. Clements: Reminiscences of Pilgrimage to the Holy Places of Palestine. London 1857. This light work is made up of three lectures.

1855. Malan. Bethany: a Pilgrimage. By S. C. Malan. London, without date. A pleasant little book.

1855. Pelligrinaggio storico e descrittivo di Terra Santa del Alessandro Bassi. This work is worth looking into.

1855. Pasuello, Ant.: Viaggio a Gerusalemme. Verona 1857.

1856. Petersen: Et Besög i Jerusalem og Omegn. Af Th. E. Petersen. Particularly devoted to new investigations.

1856. Bonar: The Land of Promise; Notes of a Spring Journey, etc. London 1858. There is little in this book of special interest, yet some details are worth noticing.

1856. Prime: Tent Life in the Holy Land. London and New York 1857. The author writes well, lively, and with American self-confidence; his studies are very limited, however.

1857. Frankl: Nach Jerusalem! A very interesting production, throwing much light upon the Jewish relations of Palestine.

1856. Sketches of a Tour in Egypt and Palestine. London 1857. Unimportant.

1856. Guida del Pellegrino devoto in Terra Santa. Roma 1856. A little book; easily read.

1856. Ritchie: Azuba, or the Forsaken Land. Edinburgh 1856. Theological rhetoric.

1855–1857. Barclay: The City of the Great King. Philadelphia and London 1857. The darker side of this book presents a faultiness in the arrangement of the material, a lack of knowledge of languages,—*e.g.* Locus Patriarci, 329; Piscina Gemilares, 321; anima regnit, 228,—untrustworthiness in the historical statements, very meagre indications of authorities, much that is taken from other works and thrown together confusedly, and a love of hypothesis; while the bright side brings into view many valuable investigations and observations, so that the book has permanent value. The errors in Latin are especially abundant in the plan of Jerusalem under the Crusaders, taken from my work without any giving of credit. Barclay has also taken without acknowledgment plates from Bartlett's and Williams' works. It is painful to think that a missionary of the gospel, a man sent out to extend the domain of truth, possessed moreover of a very pious pen, should allow his vanity or his love of money to lead him into deceptions such as these.

1855–1857. Sarah Barclay: Hadji in Syria, or Three Years in Jerusalem. Philadelphia 1858. Very lively, and at the same time accurate, pictures. The best work on Palestine from the pen of a lady.

1855. Osborn: Palestine, Past and Present. By H. S. Osborn. London 1859. It is a pity that a book containing so

little that is new or good should be in such excellent type and of such fine paper.

1854 and 1857. Murray: Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine, etc. This is an admirable manual. Yet perhaps I may be allowed to say, that if the author had not simply cited my works, but had read them as well, he would have been able to give more accurate delineations of many things. In the interpretation of antiquities, the chief author of this work (Porter) is too hasty.

1851, 1856. Fliedner, Th.: Reisen in das heil. Land. Kaiserwerth, without date. Important in relation to the establishment of deaconesses' institutions in the Holy Land, but containing much that is light and monkish.

1857. Conrad: Reizen naar de Landengte van Suez, Egypte, het Heilige Land, door F. W. Conrad. 'sGravenhage 1858.

1857. W. M. Thomson: The Land and the Book, etc. New York 1859. The author spent twenty-five years in Palestine.

1857. Buchanan, R.: Notes of a Clerical Furlough. London 1859. A lively and attractive description, but lacking in thoroughness.

1858. F. N. Lorenzen: Jerusalem. Keil 1859. Sketchy, but readable; tourist work.

2. *Works of those who either certainly, or probably, never visited Palestine personally.*

1456. Lud. de Angulo: Cod. bibliothecæ Vadianæ S. Gallensis, chartaceus, eleganter scriptus a L. de Angulo. Very little valuable relative to Palestine.

1590. Jerusalem au temp de notre Seigneur J. C.; legende, topographique, etc. Par Adrichomius. Lyon 1857.

1648. La description de la Palestine et des lieux de cette Province, etc. Unimportant.

1649. Calaorra, istoria cronologica della Provincia di Siria e Terra Santa di Gerusalemme. Venetia 1649.

1819. La Terre Sainte, ou Description des Lieux le plus celebrés de la Palestine. Unimportant.

1831. Ferrario: Descrizione della Palestina o storia del Vangilo illustrata coi monumenti, etc. Milano 1831. Unimportant.

1832. Viaggi di Gesù Cristo o descrizione geografica de' principali luoghi e monumenti della Terra Santa. Torino 1832.

1834. Crome: Geographisch-historische Beschreibung des Landes Palästina. Gottingen 1834. Containing much that is good, but also much that is hurried.

1837. La Terra Santa ed i Luoghi illustrati dagli apostoli. Torino 1837. Unimportant.

1843. Topographie de Jerusalem. Thèse par A. Coquerel, fils.

1845. Munk: Palestine. Paris 1845. Good, but behind the times.

1845. Palästina. Von Fr. Arnold. Careful work.

1847. Le livre d'Or des familles ou la Terre Sainte. Par J. A. L. Bruxelles 1847. A work to be looked into.

1852. Russell: Palestine, or the Holy Land. London 1852. Tolerably useful.

1852. Jerusalem et la Terre Sainte; Notes de Voyage, etc. Par l'Abbe G. Finely printed and engraved, but otherwise of little value.

1854. Laorty-Hadji, La Syrie, la Palestine, et la Judée. Paris 1854.

1855. Phœnicia. By John Kenrick. London 1855. A carefully prepared work.

1856. Ein Gang durch Jerusalem. Von A. G. Hoffmann. Agreeable and instructive.

1858. Schauplatz der heiligen Schrift oder das alte und neue Morgenland, etc. Von Dr Lorenz Clem. Gratz. The author has carefully investigated his subject.

1858. J. A. Barstow: Bible Dictionary. London 1858. Better, and more in correspondence with the present stage of our knowledge, than the work last mentioned.

1859. The article of Arnold on Palästina in Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie is worth looking at.

The chief Magazines which relate to the Holy Land are the following:—

Missionsnotizen aus dem h. Lande. Herausgegeben vom Wiener-General-Kommissariate der h. Länder. Wien 1846. Worth examining.

Das heilige Land. Organ des Vereins vom h. Grabe. Köln 1857. This journal contains much usable material.

Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Morgenlande. Pub. by W. Hoffmann, F. A. Strauss. Berlin, beginning at 1857. Less full than the Cologne journal, and of far less value.

The Jerusalem Intelligencer. Printed in Jerusalem. Pub. by Henry Crawford.

APPENDIX IV.

The Editor has taken the liberty of extracting from Mr Tristram's Land of Israel *his discussion on the question of the site of Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida; and also an account of that author's visit to Beisan; and he may be permitted to take this opportunity of recommending the reader to peruse a work which he has no doubt it would greatly have gratified Ritter to have studied.*

From Tristram's "Land of Israel," p. 440.

I HAD now repeatedly visited the sites on the western shores of the lake, the identification of which with the several cities where most of our Lord's mighty works were done, is a question of no little difficulty. Each writer has propounded a theory of his own; and, reluctant as I always feel to differ from the views very decidedly expressed by the learned and cautious Dr Robinson, I must even follow the example of my predecessors, and, in so doing, endeavour to give my reasons for my conclusions.

We have only two ancient authorities to guide us as to the geographical position of Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida —the New Testament and Josephus. The land of Gennesaret, according to both, was situated on the western side of the lake, for thither our Lord passed over when He had been at the east side. Josephus describes it as thirty furlongs in length and twenty in breadth, the exact extent of the Ghuweir, so fruitful that all sorts of trees will grow upon it, and enjoying perpetual spring. Not the slightest question can arise as to the identification of Gennesaret with the modern el-Ghuweir. Dr Robinson has clearly shown that Capernaum and Bethsaida were in,

or close to, this plain. After the death of John the Baptist, our Lord withdrew by water to a solitary place at the north-east end of the lake. Here He fed the 5000, and then desired His disciples to pass over, according to St Mark, to Bethsaida; according to St John, they went towards Capernaum. When our Lord entered the boat, immediately, says St John, it was at the land whither they went; while, according to SS. Matthew and Mark, they came into the land of Gennesaret. The argument for the position of Capernaum in the plain of Gennesaret has been summed up very clearly by Lightfoot. Josephus, after describing in glowing language the fertility and climate of Gennesaret, goes on to say: "It is watered by a most fertile fountain, which the people of the country call Capharnaum. Some have thought this a vein of the Nile, since it produces a fish like the *coracinus*, in the lake near Alexandria." Will Tell Hûm answer the conditions of the geographical indications of the Evangelists or Josephus? I conceive it will not in any respect. The great argument relied on by its advocates is philological, Hûm being supposed to be the contracted form for Tell na Hûm, "Tell" being naturally substituted for "Kefr" when the spot ceased to be an inhabited *village*.. The next argument is founded on the extent of ruins at Tell Hûm, not equalled elsewhere near the lake. The philological argument is certainly entitled to great weight, so long as it does not clash with historical geography. The existence of extensive ruins cannot *alone* have much force, since Capernaum was not the only city; nor do we know that its edifices were the most important among the many lost cities which studded these fertile shores, although it may have been the largest place. The ruins may have been better preserved at Tell Hûm than elsewhere, from the hardness of the rock, which, unlike the soft soil of the plain of Gennesaret, could never bury the fragments of overthrown buildings, and also on account of its greater distance from Tiberias, for the edifices and fortifications of which, the materials of the nearest ruins would naturally be employed.

But, on the other hand, Tell Hûm will not meet the conditions of the Evangelists, for it cannot be said to be in the land of Gennesaret; nor of Josephus, for there is no fountain at Tell Hûm; and to place, with Dr Thomson, the inhabited

Capernaum at Tell Hûm, and the fountain Capharnaum of Josephus at Ain Tabighah, two miles to the southward, would be, as Dr Robinson remarks, an improbable and unnatural conjecture. Even were it so, the fountain of Tabighah is neither "γονιμωτάτη" nor "ποτιμωτάτη," whichever reading we adopt. It is close to the edge of the lake, away from the plain, and by no possible metaphor can be said to water it, for it is separated by two miles of distance, and by an intervening spur of the hills.

Khan Minîyeh, or Ain et Tin, the site selected by Dr Robinson, better meets the requirements of the inspired text, for it is in the land of Gennesaret, on its northern edge. But I conceive that beyond this point the argument fails entirely. The words of Josephus are clear: the plain is watered through its course (διάρδεται) by the fountain Capharnaum. Dr Robinson evidently feels the difficulty, and assumes that Josephus, in mentioning the fountain, could hardly refer to it as the main source of fertility to the plain; and, to relieve himself still further, selects the worse reading ποτιμωτάτη for γονιμωτάτη, while he pleads that Ain et Tin "does occasion a luxuriant verdure in its vicinity and along the shore," which it certainly does for the space of a few yards.

But when we come to the Round Fountain of Ain Mudawarah, we find a spot in perfect harmony with the accounts of the Evangelists and of Josephus, and, in fact, the only possible locality which will harmonize all the accounts. Here is a fountain in the centre of the western boundary of the plain, sending forth to this day a copious stream which exactly bisects the Ghuweir on its way to the lake, and is the most important source of fertility in the plain. The stream from Wady Hamâm waters the southern end, the Wady el Amûd the northern, while this supplies the central plain, and is not less copious nor less permanent than the others. Its waters are in high repute for their salubrity, and are resorted to by invalids from a considerable distance. But the most decisive argument in its favour is to my mind the statement of Josephus, that Capharnaum produced the κορακῖνος, a fish like that of the lake near Alexandria. The fact is, that the remarkable siluroid the catfish, or coracine (κορακῖνος) (*Clarias macracanthus*, Gunthr.), identical with the catfish of the ponds of Lower Egypt, does

abound to a remarkable degree in the Round Fountain to this day. As I mentioned above, we obtained specimens a yard long, and some of them are deposited in the British Museum. The loose sandy bottom of this fountain is peculiarly adapted for this singular fish, which buries itself in the sediment, leaving only its feelers exposed. It is doubtless found elsewhere in the lake itself, for I have a specimen obtained at the south end beyond the baths of Tiberias, but it was not to be seen on the surface like other fish; while here in the clear shallow water it may, when disturbed, be at once detected swimming in numbers along the bottom. But it is not found at Ain et Tin, where the fountain could neither supply it with cover nor food; nor could we discover it at Ain Tabighah, where the water is hot and brackish. It is somewhat amusing to refer to the speculations of various writers about the fountain and the coracine, not one of whom seems ever to have thought of looking into the facts of the case. Dr Robinson actually seizes upon the statement of Josephus as an argument against the Round Fountain. "More decisive, however, is the circumstance that the fountain Kapharnaum was held to be a vein of the Nile, because it produced a fish like the *coracinus* of that river. This might well be the popular belief as to a large fountain on the very shore, to which the lake in some seasons sets quite up" [?] "so that fish could pass and repass without difficulty. Not so, however, with the Round Fountain, which is a mile and a half from the shore, and which could neither itself have in it fish fit for use, nor could fish of any size pass between it and the lake."—ROBINSON, *Res.* iii. 351.

If the worthy Doctor's arguments be worth anything, we can only exclaim, So much the worse for the facts! Dr Thomson follows suit in the same tone. Speaking of "the *fable* about the fish *coracinus*," he proceeds: "We may admit that this fish was actually found in the fountain of Capernaum, and that this is a valid reason why the Round Fountain near the south end of Gennesaret could not be it!"—*Land and Book*, p. 354. Dr Bonar, in combating the claims of Ain et Tin, assumes the coracine to be "a fish quite different from any to be found in the lake," which does not necessarily follow if it were a remarkable and abundant production of the fountain; for Josephus could never mean to imply that the fish could not or did not

pass to the lake, when evidence to the contrary must have been before his eyes. Dr Bonar's note, while demolishing most sstisfactorily the claims of Ain et Tin, supports in every particular the interpretation here advanced, though he does not seem to have been aware of the existence of the Round Fountain. I conceive that its claims to be the Capharnaum of Josephus must now be admitted, as being "prolific," "fertilizing," and "irrigating the plain."

We may observe, in corroboration, that from Matt. xiv. 35 and Mark vi. 55, our Lord appears to have healed many *on His way from the shore to Capernaum.* This would naturally occur, when, after the boats had been run ashore on the beach at the mouth of the Wady Mudawarah, Jesus walked across the plain to His own city—Capernaum being placed at Ain Mudawarah. The positions of Bethsaida and Chorazin at Ain Tabighah and Tell Hûm respectively would naturally follow, as Dr Robinson has shown, Bethsaida being to the north of Capernaum, and probably between it and Chorazin.

Wherever the cities stood, the absence of remains and the obliteration of their very names more utterly than of those of Sodom and Gomorrah, testify to a fulfilment of that prophetic woe, which, though not denounced against the walls and stones, but against those who dwelt in them, is illustrated by their erasure from the face of the earth—"cast down to hell," lost, and forgotten, though consecrated by the presence and mighty works of the Divine Saviour. Capernaum in its oblivion preaches to Christendom a sermon more forcible than the columns of Tyre or the stones of Jerusalem.

APPENDIX V.

From Tristram's "Land of Israel," p. 499.

APRIL 6.—At sunrise I bade farewell to my faithful coadjutors and Mr Sandwith, and with Mr Zeller accompanied Mr Egerton-Warburton's party, for our eleven hours' ride, by Beisan, sending the mules direct to Jenin. Our course, for road there was none, lay across a long series of rolling plains, reminding us of the Sussex downs in their general appearance, though the soil was rich and loamy. The ride to Beisan (Bethshean of old, and the Scythopolis of later antiquity) occupied four hours. We saw not a tree; and the rolling downs, as we inclined eastward, developed into wadys, which convey occasional streams to the Jordan. We came to one inhabited and apparently flourishing village, Kefrah, with some ancient ruins of large stones, bearing the so-called Jewish bevel, one of these ruins having belonged to an edifice of some size; also several ruined villages, whose grass-grown sites were marked afar by a deeper green than clothes the rest of the downs, one of them called Marusseh (?); and these were all we passed till we reached Beisan.

The whole of the rocks are limestone, with many boulders and fragments of basalt sprinkled over them, and in one place we crossed a continuous basaltic dyke. Generally, however, the igneous formation was extremely superficial.

Half a mile north of Beisan stand the ruins of a noble Saracenic khan, with many of its arches, and its courtyard perfect. Three of the four columns which supported a canopy over a marble fountain in its centre, are still standing. The whole is built of large dressed blocks of black basalt and white crystalline limestone alternating, and has a very beautiful effect.

After riding through these ruins, we descended into a little valley, the Nahr Jâlûd, where a perennial stream of sweet water was fringed with canes and oleanders in full bloom. This we crossed by a fine Roman bridge of a single arch, much decayed. Constructed, however, of hard black basalt, it has been able to withstand in some degree the ravages of time and the carelessness of Moslems. Higher up the same stream we saw another bridge of three arches, and lower down the buttresses and spring of the arch of a third, these latter both built of limestone, and very finely worked.

Just beyond, and separated by a narrow ridge, is a second stream, also perennial; and on the peninsula formed by these two, with a bold steep brow overlooking the Ghor, stood the citadel of ancient Bethshean—a sort of Gibraltar or Constantine on a small scale—of remarkable natural strength, and inaccessible to horsemen. No wonder that it was long ere Israel could wrest it from the possession of the Canaanites. The eastern face rises like a steep cone, most incorrectly stated by Robinson to be "black, and apparently volcanic," and by Porter, "probably once a crater." Certainly there are many blocks of basalt lying about; but if any person walks round to the east side of the hill, he will see that it is simply a limestone bluff.

We could easily recognise the spot where Burckhardt must have stood, when he saw but one column standing, though from other positions we could count more than twenty. But Sheikh Ibrahim's visit was evidently a very hurried one. Having tied our horses to some standing columns at the foot of the Acropolis, we climbed to a mediæval ruin, under the shade of which we ate our luncheon, sheltered from the glare of the noonday sun, and looking down on the extraordinary bridge which, with its high-peaked arch, seems once to have carried a wall or a fortification across the ravine. A black kite came down to share our meal, which we shot, as also the ortolan bunting, being the first of either of these migrants which we had seen.

Climbing to the summit, we enjoyed the finest panorama, next to Gerizim, which Central Palestine affords, and spent half an hour in examining it with delight. Spread at our feet, yet far below us, the vast plain of Jordan stretched north and

south far as the eye could reach; and in its centre we might trace the strangely tortuous course of the river, marked by a ribbon of dark shrubs and oleanders, through the otherwise treeless plain. Facing us, nearly ten miles to the north, was the gorge of the Hieromax; nearly opposite was a long narrow plateau, raised a few hundred feet above the Ghor, on the edge of which the glass enabled us to descry the ruins of *Tubaket Fahil*, the ancient Pella. Gradually sloping back to the crest of its lofty plateau, picturesquely dotted with oaks, but nowhere in a forest mass, and scarred by the ravine of the Yâbis and the Seklab, stretched the whole front of Gilead; to the south-east the lofty Castle of Kefrenjy towered, and behind it rose the higher summits of pine-clad Ajlun, the scene of our well-remembered ride from Sûf, until they sloped down to the deep valley of the Jabbok. Beyond this, through a thin haze, we could detect the blue outline of the supposed Nebo, and the mountains of Moab in a long ridge fringing the Dead Sea, the view of which was shut out by the spur of Kurn Surtabeh, projecting from the west. I could thus console myself, that though baulked of my projected ride down the Ghor, I had traversed most of it, and seen the whole of it, excepting six miles to the north of Surtabeh, and was quite satisfied I had lost nothing of the slightest interest.

The Ghor, clothed with a rich robe of clovers and lucernes, was everywhere dotted with the black parallelograms which mark the Beduin camps, the only habitations of man till the wretched village of Jericho is reached. Turning again from north to west, the noble Crusading ruin of Belvoir stood beetling on the highest point overhanging the plain by Wady Bireh; and just behind it rose snow-streaked Hermon, then Jebel Duhy (Little Hermon), between which and Gilboa the plain of Esdraelon gently sloped toward us, showing the reach along which Jehu drove his chariot from the ford in our front up to Jezreel. To the south a range of sparsely-wooded hills embayed the valleys and the Ghor as far as Kurn Surtabeh.

How clearly the details of the sad end of Saul were recalled as we stood on this spot! There was the slope of Gilboa, on which his army was encamped before the battle. Round that hill he slunk by night, conscience-stricken, to visit the witch of Endor. Hither, as being a Canaanitish fortress, the Philistines

most naturally brought the trophies of the royal slain, and hung them up just by this wall. Across the ford by the Yâbis, and across that plain below us, the gallant men of Jabesh Gilead hurried on their long night's march to stop the indignity offered to Israel, and to take down the bodies of their king and his sons.

Descending from the ancient fortress, where the ruins of the more modern citadel were in large measure composed of beautiful marble columns, and some capitals built horizontally in tiers or lying across the massive walls, we next came to the remains of a very perfect amphitheatre, with all the vomitories and corridors intact, though not of very large size. We noticed the oval recesses half-way up the galleries mentioned by Irby and Mangles.

Then crossing the third stream (a very small one, with water slightly sulphurous), we visited the ruins of a fine Greek church, since perverted into a mosque, with a Cuphic inscription inserted over an inner doorway, but now nearly roofless, excepting two or three arches and a small tower. Here there is a fourth little stream, and the modern village, a collection of earth and stone built kennels, circular and flat-roofed, about twelve feet in diameter, and each having one aperture about three feet square. They were the very worst among all the miserable hovels of this wretched land. It is scarcely conceivable how any human beings can inhabit such styes: but such is the contrast, nowhere more startling than here, between ancient civilisation and modern degradation. These people are Egyptian immigrants, and are grievously oppressed by the neighbouring Beduin. To us they were civil and obliging, no doubt in awe of Agyle's horsemen. I noticed a clump of palms, the last lingering relics, and also a quantity of the medicinal aloe (*Gasteria farsaniana*, H. and Ehr.), growing wild on the slope, from the ruins to the Jordan valley,—another relic doubtless of past cultivation.

END OF VOL. II.

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